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A DISSERTATION

ON THE

PROPHECIES

RELATIVE TO THE

"GREAT PERIOD OF 1260 YEARS.

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CHAPTER VII.

OF THE FOUR FIRST APOCALYPTIC TRUMPETS.

AS the nature of my subject confines me to those parts of the Apocalypse which treat of *the* 1260 *years of the great Apostasy*, I shall pass over in silence the contents of *the six first seals*, and commence my observations from *the last seal* which comprehends *all the seven trumpets*.

I. "And, when he had opened the seventh seal, "there was silence in heaven about the space of "half an hour. And I saw the seven angels "which stood before God; and to them were "given seven trumpets. And another angel came "and stood at the altar, having a golden censer: "and there was given unto him much incense, "that he should offer it with the prayers of all "saints upon the golden altar which was before "the throne. And the smoke of the incense, "which came with the prayers of the saints, as-

" cended up before God out of the angel's hand.
" And the angel took the censer, and filled it with
" fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and
" there were voices, and thunderings, and light-
" nings, and an earthquake."

The prophet had already, under *the sixth seal*, predicted the conversion of *the Roman empire* to Christianity in the days of Constantine, the downfall of paganism, and the tranquillity which *the Church* enjoyed for a season after her manifold troubles and persecutions*. The opening of *the*

* Rev. vi. 12—17. vii. 1—17. See Bp. Newton's Dissert. in loc. I cannot but think, however, that his Lordship extends *the season of tranquillity*, predicted in *the seventh chapter*, much too far, in supposing it to reach from the reign of Constantine to the death of Theodosius, when *the first trumpet* began to sound. Such an opinion neither accords with facts, nor with the tenor of the prophecy. If we advert to facts, we shall find, that the peace of the Church began to be disturbed even during the life of Constantine by the heresy of Arius, and afterwards by the Apostasy of Julian. If we advert to the prophecy, we shall find that the scheme in question makes *the tranquillity of the sixth seal* synchronize for the most part with *the silence introduced by the opening of the seventh seal*. Now, since *the tranquillity* is placed under the *the sixth seal*, it is reasonable to suppose that it is considered as terminating, when *the seventh seal* is opened, which introduces no scenes of peace, but a mute and anxious expectation of the calamities soon about to fall upon the Roman empire under *the trumpets*. History shews, that this supposition is just; for we can scarcely consider *that* as a period of much tranquillity to the Church which was at once disturbed by the quarrels of the Consubstantialists and the Arians, the malignity of Julian, and the perpetual incursions of the Goths.

seventh seal is the prelude to the disturbing of that tranquillity, the harbinger of the downfall of *the Western Empire*, the herald of the revealing of *the man of sin*. The *year* 313 was marked by the famous edict of Constantine in favour of Christianity: in this year therefore the tranquillity of *the Church* commenced. No great length of time however elapsed before the peace of *the Empire* began to be broken by the incursions of the northern barbarians about *the years* 321 and 323. At this period I conceive *the seventh seal* to have been opened, and *the silence of half an hour* or rather of *half a season* to have commenced. As *the seventh seal* introduces those first incursions of the Goths that took place after the beginning of *the Church's* tranquillity, incursions which were easily repelled by the yet vigorous government of *the Empire*; so *the silence* seems to denote *the state of mute and anxious expectation* in which *the Church* anticipated, as it were, from various less important invasions, the grand irruption of the Gothic monarch Alaric and his associates under *the first trumpet*. The period then of *the half season* describes the affairs of *the Church* and *the Empire* from about *the year* 323 to *the year* 395.

What *the Church* gained in outward splendor and prosperity under Constantine, she lost in purity of manners and doctrine. The holy simplicity of primitive Christianity was no more, and the heresy of Arius introduced a succession of crimes disgraceful alike to humanity and religion. Such

a state

a state of things might naturally be expected to call down the wrath of heaven, notwithstanding those prayers which the ancient Christians were wont to offer up for the prosperity and preservation of *the Roman empire.* Yet, though it might be granted to their supplications that the heaviest judgments should not *immediately* fall upon it, though the soundings of *the trumpets* might *for a season* be deferred, *the casting of fire,* the well-known symbol of *divine wrath, upon the earth,* which throughout the Apocalypse typifies *the Roman empire,* and *the voices, the thunderings, the lightnings,* and *the earthquake,* which it produced, testified with sufficient plainness, that it should forthwith experience *some* calamities, that it should forthwith be agitated by *some* great public convulsions.

Upon referring to history, we find that the incursions of the northern barbarians gradually became more and more formidable. Between *the years* 365 and 379, an almost perpetual war was carried on between them and the Romans with various success: and in *the last of these years,* when *the Empire* seemed on the point of being completely overrun and dismembered, Gratian associated with himself in the imperial dignity, the famous Theodosius. By the successful valour of this warlike prince, the sounding of *the first trumpet,* and the impending ruin of *the Empire,* were delayed for sixteen years: but " the genius of " Rome expired with Theodosius, the last of the " successors of Augustus and Constantine, who " appeared

" appeared in the field at the head of their armies,
" and whose authority was universally acknow-
" ledged throughout the whole extent of the
" Empire *."

II. " And the seven angels, which had the seven
" trumpets, prepared themselves to sound."

The four first trumpets describe the removal of *that power*, which in the days of St. Paul letted or prevented the development of *the man of sin*, namely, *the western imperial dignity of Rome:* while *the three last*, which are awfully styled *the three woes*, detail the history of *the great two-fold Apostasy* both in the *East* and in the *West;* exhibit *the man of sin* in the plenitude of his power, upheld by the secular arm, and tyrannizing over *the Church* of Christ; predict his complete destruction at *Armageddon*, in the very act of opposing the Almighty conjointly with his temporal colleague *the ten-horned beast* or *revived Roman empire;* and finally bring us to the period, when all the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.

1. " The first angel sounded: and there followed
" hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were
" cast upon the earth; and the third part of the
" trees was burnt up, and all green grass was
" burnt up."

Before the prophecy of *the trumpets* can be satisfactorily interpreted, we must ascertain the

* Hist. of Decline. vol. v. p. 137.

meaning

meaning of *the third part*, which so frequently occurs in it.

Now, as *the Roman empire* is symbolized throughout the Apocalypse by *the earth* or *the world*, furnished with its *waters* or *peoples* and with its *heavenly luminaries* or *governing powers; the third part of that world* must of course denote *the third part of the Roman empire*. But that portion of the Roman empire, which is subverted by the operation of *the four first trumpets*, is *the empire of the West;* the proper seat of which is the European continent. Hence *the third part*, mentioned in the present prophecy, must be *the western empire*. Agreeably to this supposition, as that empire was the strong-hold of the great apostasy, we elsewhere find it said, that the infernal *dragon* cast down *the third part of the stars of heaven* at the commencement of the period of 1260 years; because then it was, that the episcopal angels throughout the *western empire*, with the leading *star of Rome* at their head, first openly fell away from evangelical sincerity *.

The western empire being one third part of *the earth* or *Roman empire* in general, *the eastern empire* will naturally be viewed as another third part. Accordingly, in the prophecy of the *Euphratèan horsemen*, by whose agency the Constantinopolitan monarchy was overturned, *the eastern empire* is spoken of as being *the third part of*

* Rev. xii. 4.

men

men; just as *the western empire* had been similarly designated in the prophecies of *the four trumpets* and of *the great dragon**.

We have now only to ascertain *the remaining third part:* and this, since the proper *empires of the west* and *the east* are each a third of the entire empire, must obviously be composed of the provinces which were situated in the continent of Africa. The last *third part* was dependent upon the two others; and, as such, it is never specially mentioned in the Apocalypse: while, on the contrary, the proper *empires of the west* and *the east,* being each an independent governing power, were in that capacity fit subjects for prophetic notice.

At present then we are concerned with *the western third part* of the Roman empire; which was alone *subverted* under the prediction of *the four first trumpets,* though *the eastern third part* also necessarily suffered much from the circumstance of its contiguity.

Hail and lightning mingled with blood denote *a tremendous tempest of desolating war and foreign invasion. The storm* therefore, which is here represented as falling upon *the earth* or *Roman empire* in general, though it proves eminently destructive to its *western third part,* typifies *that grand compound irruption of the barbarous northern nations;* from the effects of which *the Roman empire* never

* Rev. ix. 18.

recovered

recovered itself, as it had done from those of the foregoing irruptions.

In the natural world, *a storm* is frequently preceded by *a calm:* hence, in the figurative world, *the great hail-storm* mingled with lightning is represented as being preceded by *silence*. This *silence* however is not so deep, but that the latter part of it is interrupted both by thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake *, the immediate harbingers of *the hail-storm*. Accordingly, we find that the fierce Gothic tribes, though perpetually at war with the Romans, and though threatening to overwhelm them by repeatedly violating the long extent of the northern frontier, were for a time restrained by the genius of Theodosius †: but, upon the decease of this great prince in *the year 395*, the *northern cloud*, which had so long been gathering, discharged itself with irresistible fury upon the Empire. "He "died in the month of January; and before the "end of the same year the Gothic nation was in "arms—The barriers of the Danube were thrown "open: the savage warriors of Scythia issued from "their forests: and the uncommon severity of the "winter" (the season in which *natural hail* and *snow* are generated) "allowed the poet to remark,

* Rev. viii. 5.

† "As the impatient Goths," says Mr. Gibbon, "could only "be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodo- "sius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abili- "ties of a single man." Hist. of Decline, Vol. iv. p. 443.

"that

" that they rolled their ponderous waggons over " the broad and icy back of the indignant river— " The fertile fields of Phocis and Beotia were " covered with a deluge of barbarians, who mas- " sacred the males of an age to bear arms, and " drove away the beautiful females with the spoil " and cattle of the flaming villages." The whole territory of Athens was blasted by the baleful presence of Alaric; and " the travellers, who visited " Greece several years afterwards, could easily dis- " cover the deep and bloody traces of the march " of the Goths*."

Such were the first effects of *the symbolical hail-storm.* Having thus ravaged Greece, it was next carried into Italy and the West. Under the guidance of Alaric, it passed over Pannonia, Istria, and Venetia; and threatened the destruction of imperial Rome herself. At length it was driven out of Italy by Stilicho.

Yet, scarcely was *this part of the tempest* dissipated, when *another dark cloud*†, generated like its fellow in the cold regions of the North (so ac-

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, Vol. v. p. 176—181.

† I have adopted the language of the historian. Unconscious that he was bearing his testimony to the truth of prophecy, he has used the self-same allegorical language as that employed by St. John. " The correspondence of nations," says he, " was in " that age so imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of " the North might escape the knowledge of the court of Ra- " venna; till *the dark cloud*, which was collected along the coast " of the Baltic, burst in thunder upon the banks of the upper " Danube." Hist. of Decline and Fall, Vol. v. p. 214.

curately does the symbol correspond with its antitype), burst in *the year* 406 upon the banks of the upper Danube, and thence passed on into Italy. Headed by Radagaisus, the northern Germans emigrated from their native land, besieged Florence, and threatened Rome. Stilicho however was again victorious; but the remnant of the vanquished host was still sufficient to invade and desolate the province of Gaul. "The banks of the Rhine were "crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant "houses, and well cultivated farms. This scene "of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into "a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins "could alone distinguish the solitude of nature "from the desolations of man. The flourishing "city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and "many thousand Christians were inhumanly mas-"sacred in the church. Worms perished, after a "long and obstinate siege; Strasburgh, Spires, "Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced "the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and "the consuming flames of war spread from the "banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the "seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and "extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, "and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barba-"rians; who drove before them, in a promiscuous "crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, "laden with the spoils of their houses and al-"tars*."

* Hist. of Decline, Vol. v. p. 225.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile *that part of the storm*, which was directed by Alaric, soon began to beat afresh. After the death of Stilicho, the Gothic sovereign again invaded Italy; and Rome herself, after three successive sieges, was sacked by the northern barbarians *.

It is observable in *literal storms of hail*, that their violence appears for a season to subside, and afterwards to return with redoubled fury. This was exactly the case with *the figurative tempest of Gothic invasion* predicted in the Apocalypse. After the exploits of Alaric and Radagaisus had been achieved, the violence of *the main body of the hail-storm* abated, but its *outskirts* still continued to beat upon the more remote provinces of *the Western empire*. In *the year* 409, Spain was overrun and ravaged by the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alans; who were afterwards, in their turn, compelled to submit to the arms of the Goths †. The Vandals however still prevailed in Gallicia; and, in order (as it were) that no part of *the earth* or *the Roman world* should escape the devastating influence of *the northern hail storm*, soon afterwards invaded the African province. In *the year* 429, they crossed the Streights of Gibraltar under the command of Genseric, invited by the mistaken policy of Boniface. At that period the African coast was extremely populous, and the country itself so fruit-

* Hist. of Decline, Vol. v. p. 184—329.

† Ibid. p. 350—355.

ful

ful that it deserved the name of *the common granary of Rome and of mankind.* "On a sudden, "the seven provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, "were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Van- "dals. War, in its fairest form, implies a per- "petual violation of humanity and justice; and "the hostilities of barbarians are inflamed by "the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly "disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. "The Vandals, where they found resistance, sel- "dom gave quarter; and the deaths of their "valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin "of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. "Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or "rank, they employed every species of indignity "and torture, to force from the captives a disco- "very of their hidden wealth. The stern policy "of Genseric justified his frequent examples of "military execution: he was not always the mas- "ter of his own passions, or of those of his fol- "lowers; and the calamities of war were aggra- "vated by the licentiousness of the Moors, and "the fanaticism of the Donatists*."

Thus did *the first great storm of hail* lay waste *the Roman empire.* Collecting itself in the North, it burst over Greece and Italy; ravaged Gaul and Spain; and at length spent itself in Africa.

Scarcely was the fury of *this tempest* exhausted, when *another* no less destructive began to gather,

* Hist. of Decline, Vol. vi. p. 12—21.

as

as we perpetually behold one storm of hail rapidly succeed another. The Hungarian monarch Attila, having united in his own person the empire of Scythia and Germany, soon turned his arms against the declining power of the Romans. In *the year 441*, he invaded *the Eastern empire*. "The Illy- "rian frontier was covered by a line of castles and "fortresses; and, though the greatest part of them "consisted only of a single tower with a small "garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel "or to intercept the inroads of any enemy, who "was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the "delay, of a regular siege. But these slight ob- "stacles were instantly swept away by the inun- "dation of the Huns. They destroyed with fire "and sword the populous cities of Sirmium and "Singidunum, of Ratiaria, and Marcianopolis, of "Naissus and Sardica; where every circumstance, "in the discipline of the people and the construc- "tion of the buildings, had been gradually adapted "to the sole purpose of defence. The whole "breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hun- "dred miles from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, "was at once invaded, and occupied, and deso- "lated, by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila "led into the field—The armies of the Eastern "empire were vanquished in three successive en- "gagements; and the progress of Attila may be "traced by the fields of battle—From the Helles- "pont to Thermopylæ and the suburbs of Con- "stantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and

"without

" without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and " Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might " perhaps escape this dreadful irruption of the " Huns; but words, the most expressive of total " extirpation and erasure, are applied to the cala- " mities which they inflicted on seventy cities of " the Eastern empire *."

A pause at length took place in *the storm*. In *the year* 446, the Constantinopolitan emperor concluded an ignominious peace with Attila: but, in *the year* 450, the restless Hun threatened alike both the East and the West. " Mankind," says the historian, " awaited his decision with awful " suspense." *The storm* however now burst over Gaul and Italy. After ravaging the former of these countries with savage barbarity, Attila turned his arms towards the seat of *the Western empire*. Aquileia made a vigorous but ineffectual resistance; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover its ruins. The victorious barbarian " pur- " sued his march; and, as he passed, the cities of " Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced " into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland " towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were ex- " posed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns;" the rich plains of modern Lombardy were laid waste; and the ferocious Attila boasted, that " the grass " never grew on the spot where his horse had " trod." Rome herself escaped: and, by the sud-

* Hist. of Decline, Vol. vi. p. 45—53,

den

den death of Attila, his kingdom fell asunder, and *the great northern storm of hail* was dissipated *. Thus, agreeably to the prediction, the tempest burst over *the earth* or *Roman empire in general*, while its *western third part* alone was as yet marked out for destruction.

2. "And the second angel sounded: and as it "were a great mountain burning with fire was "cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea "became blood; and the third part of the crea- "tures, which were in the sea and had life, died; "and the third part of the ships were destroyed."

The death of Attila took place in *the year* 453; and, with that event, the invasions of *the Roman empire* from *the North*, aptly symbolized by *a storm of hail*, were brought to a termination. The blast of *the second trumpet* introduces a new calamity from a directly opposite quarter of the world. What proceeds therefore from *the South* cannot with any propriety be represented by *hail*. Accordingly we find, that the contrary emblem of *fire* is used to describe it. *A burning blast* causes *a great mountain* to burst forth into a blaze; and afterwards, heaving it from its base, casts it flaming into the midst of *the sea* †. This imagery is manifestly

* Hist. of Decline, Vol. vi. p. 87—135.

† It is very excellently remarked by Mr. Cuninghame, that *the sea*, presented to the imagination of St. John, was *a sea according to Jewish ideas:* that is to say, not the vast ocean, but either an inland sea like the lake of Gennesareth, or at least a sea like the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean. Hence

festly copied from a parallel passage of Jeremiah, which will afford us the best explanation of what is intended by St. John. Addressing himself to Babylon, the Lord solemnly declares, "Behold, I "am against thee, O destroying mountain, which "destroyest all the earth: and I will stretch out "mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from "the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain*." It appears then, that *the destruction of Babylon* is symbolized by *the tearing up of a large mountain from its base*, and by *setting it on fire*. Now it is well known, that *Babylon* is the constant apocalyptic type of *Rome*. Hence, in a prophecy like that of *the trumpets* which treats of *the fall of the western Roman empire*, the symbol of *a mountain*, circumstanced precisely similar to *the Babylonian mountain*, cannot with propriety be interpreted as relative to any power excepting that of *Rome* alone. In *the year* 455, Genseric, king of the Vandals, sailed from Africa, and suddenly landed at the mouth of the Tiber. Rome, once the mistress of the world, was now unable to resist the arms of a barbaric chieftain. During fourteen days and nights it was given up to the licentiousness of the Vandals and the Moors; and was plundered of all that yet

there is nothing extravagant in the machinery of *the second trumpet:* for it is at least within the limits of poetical probability, that a volcano, hurled into the sea of Gennesareth or into an arm of the Mediterranean, should turn the third part of it into blood. Dissert. on the Seals and Trumpets, p. 82, 83.

* Jerom. li. 25.

remained

remained to it, from former conquerors, of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure. Having thus at once satiated his rapacity and cruelty, Genseric set sail again for Africa, carrying with him immense riches and an innumerable multitude of captives, among whom were the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters. By former ravages the power of Rome had been greatly weakened, but by Genseric it was so completely broken* that in a little time it was utterly subverted. Hurled from its base, and plunged like *a huge blazing mountain* into a sea of wars and tumults, "it "struggled hard, and gasped as it were for breath, "through eight short and turbulent reigns, for the "space of twenty years, and at length expired "under Augustulus†."

3. "And the third angel sounded: and there "fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were "a lamp; and it fell upon the third part of the "rivers, and upon the fountains of waters: and "the name of the star is called Wormwood; and "many men died of the waters because they were "made bitter."

* So completely was it broken at this period, that many, among whom is Mr. Mede, have dated *the fall of the Western empire* in *the year* 455 or 456.

† Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. viii. Mr. Lowman supposes like myself, that the symbol of *casting a mountain into the sea*, here used by the prophet, denotes *the subversion of a kingdom by hostile invasion.* "*Great disorders and commotions,* "*especially when kingdoms are moved by hostile invasions,* are ex-"pressed in the prophetic style by *carrying or casting moun-*"*tains into the midst of the sea.*" Paraph. in loc.

We have seen, that the language used by St. John in describing the effects of *the former trumpet* is borrowed from a passage of Jeremiah, wherein the fall of Babylon, the apocalyptic type of Rome, is predicted: this, which is here employed by him, is taken in a similar manner from Isaiah. "Thou shalt take up this proverb against the king "of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor "ceased, the golden city ceased! The Lord hath "broken the staff of the wicked, and the sceptre "of the rulers—How art thou fallen from heaven, "O day-star, son of the morning! how art thou "cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the "nations*." Arguing then both from analogy of interpretation, and from the general tenor of the present prophecy, if *the mountain* of *the second trumpet* mean *Rome*, *the star* of *the third trumpet* must mean *the prince of Rome;* precisely in the same manner as *the mountain* spoken of by Jeremiah means *Babylon*, and *the star* described by Isaiah as falling to the ground means *the prince of Babylon.* In the language of symbols indeed *the shooting of a star from heaven to earth* signifies either *the downfall of a king*, or *the apostasy of a minister of religion;* but in the present instance we cannot hesitate to adopt the secular interpretation. St. John is describing *the calamities of the Roman empire* in general, and *the downfall of the Western empire in particular:* hence it is more

* Isaiah xiv. 4, 5, 12.

congruous

congruous to explain the symbol of *the falling star* secularly than spiritually. And this opinion is decidedly confirmed by the testimony of history. At the era of *the third trumpet*, that is to say at the era posterior to *the hail-storm of northern invasion* and *the fiery blast of southern devastation*, we find that *a great temporal star* immediately connected with *the blazing mountain* did actually fall from *heaven* to *earth*; but we shall in vain, at the same period, look for the apostasy of some *remarkable spiritual star**. On these grounds, I doubt not that *the falling star* of *the third trumpet* is *the line of the Western Cesars*, which was finally hurled from *the political heaven* in *the year* 476 †. The last emperor Momyllus or Augustulus was deposed by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who put an end to the very name of *the Western empire*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *king of Italy* ‡.

St.

* *The fallen star* of *the third trumpet* cannot be *Arius*, because he died before even *the first trumpet* began to sound. His opinions were started about *the year* 318, and continued to agitate the East till about *the year* 381. *The hail-storm* of *the first trumpet* had long been collecting; but it did not burst till *the year* 395.

† Mr. Lowman justly observes respecting this symbol, that "the most natural interpretation of it seems to be this: that, "as *the rising of a star* denotes *the rise of some new power or* "*authority*, so *the fall of a star from heaven* signifies *the fall of* "*some kingdom or empire*" (Paraph. in loc.). He would have expressed himself however with more accuracy, had he said *the fall of some king or emperor*.

‡ Mr. Mede applies *the shooting of this star* to *the downfal of the Western Cesars*; and thence takes occasion to style it

Hesperus

St. John intimates, that *the fall of this star* should eventually be productive of much bloodshed among *the rivers* and *fountains*, or *the settled Gothic governments of the West*, which now filled the place formerly occupied by *the Roman empire*; and thence styles it *Wormwood*, as indicative of the bitter discords which its downfall should occasion. As the union of the nations of the West under one head would naturally be the cause of peace among them, so their disunion under many heads would as naturally be the cause of war. Thus we find, that Odoacer, after a short reign of sixteen years, was attacked and slain by Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths; that the Ostrogothic monarchy was, in its turn, subverted by the lieutenants of the Eastern Emperor; and that Italy was afterwards alternately a prey to the Lombards and the Franks. If from Italy we cast our eyes over Gaul, we shall behold the same spectacle of war and discord in the contests of Clovis with the Alemanni, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths: while the period of *the fallen star* was marked in Britain by the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy*, and the subsequent never

Hesperus or *the evening star of the West*. I perfectly agree with him in his interpretation of the symbol; but think it right to observe, that he has no warrant for denominating the star *Hesperus*. In the Apocalypse it is simply called *a great star*.

* Or, according to Mr. Turner, Octarchy. See his Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, B. ii. C. 6.

ceasing

ceasing wars between the princes of the Saxon blood*.

4. "And the fourth angel sounded: and the "third part of the sun was smitten, and the third "part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; "so as the third part of them was darkened, and "the day shone not for a third part of it, and the "night likewise."

Under the symbol of *a great eclipse, which darkens the third part of the Roman luminaries,* this prophecy describes *the complete effect produced upon the empire, considered as one grand whole,* by the

* The state of *the Roman world,* when *its symbolical rivers* and *fountains* began to be tinged with *wormwood* by the downfall of *the Western empire,* is thus described by Mr. Gibbon: "I have "now accomplished the laborious narrative of the decline and "fall of the Roman empire, from the fortunate age of Trajan "and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the West, about "five centuries after the Christian æra. At that unhappy pe- "riod, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the "possession of Britain; Gaul and Spain were divided between "the powerful monarchies of the Franks and the Visigoths, "and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians; "Africa was exposed to the cruel persecution of the Vandals, "and the savage insults of the Moors; Rome and Italy, as far "as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of bar- "barian mercenaries, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by "the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. All the subjects of the "empire, who, by the use of the Latin language, more parti- "cularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were "oppressed by the disgrace and calamities of foreign conquest; "and the victorious nations of Germany established a new sys- "tem of manners and government in the western countries of "Europe." Hist. of Decline, Vol. vi. p. 404.

sounding

sounding of all *the four first trumpets.* When *the western third part* was entirely occupied by the Gothic invaders, when Rome herself became a mere appendage to a barbaric kingdom, and when the line of the Italian Cesars had ended in the person of Augustulus; then commenced the predicted darkening of *the third part of the political Roman luminaries*, or, in other words, *the complete extinction of the imperial governing powers in the Latin empire.* "The day shone not for a third part of "it, and the night likewise." While "the victori- "ous nations of Germany established a new sys- "tem of manners and government in the western "countries of Europe, the majesty of Rome was "faintly represented by the princes of Constanti- "nople, the feeble and imaginary successors of "Augustus. Yet they continued to reign over the "East, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; "the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and "Africa were subverted by the arms of Justinian*;" nor did the long line of the Cesars become finally extinct, until Constantinople fell a prey to the martial fanaticism of the Turks.

Thus was *he that letted* removed out of the way, and thus was an opening prepared for the revelation of *the man of sin* and for the completion of *the western Apostasy.* Constantine quitted the ancient capital for the city of which he claimed to be the founder; Honorius, the first of the divided Italian

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, Vol. vi. p. 404.

Cesars, fixed his residence at Ravenna; and at length *the Western empire* was completely overthrown in the person of Augustulus. Nothing now impeded the growth of *the little* horn, except *the three Gothic kingdoms* which were destined to be plucked up by the roots before it. During their eradication it gradually increased; and, before it had attained the summit of its temporal power, *the saints* were delivered into its hand, and it became *a mighty spiritual persecuting empire.* Then was *the man of sin* revealed, *that son of perdition,* whose tyrannical reign and final destruction is described at large under *the three last trumpets.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE THREE LAST APOCALYPTIC TRUMPETS, OR, AS THEY ARE PECULIARLY STYLED, THE THREE WOE-TRUMPETS.

HE that letted being now removed, St. John proceeds to relate the history of *the great Apostasy*, which he details under *the three last trumpets*, usually denominated *the three woe-trumpets*. He begins with an account of *the Eastern branch of the Apostasy* under *the two first woe-trumpets*. He next passes to the parallel history of *the Western branch of the Apostasy*, which he gives at large under *the two first woe-trumpets*, and more briefly under *the third*: and, in order that his narrative may be unbroken, and that all confusion may be prevented, he throws the whole history of *the western Apostasy*, under *all the three trumpets* and during *the entire period of* 1260 *years*, into *a little book* or codicil to *the larger book* of the Apocalypse. And he finally details at large the operation of *the last woe-trumpet*, which contains within itself *the seven vials*, both in *the East*, and in *the West*.

Concerning *the three woe-trumpets* themselves it may briefly be observed in general: that *the first* describes

describes *the rise of the twofold Apostasy; the second* represents it in *the zenith of its power*, until the manifestation of *Antichrist**; and *the third* exhibits *its downfall*, displaying at the same time the multiplied horrors of *the harvest* and *vintage* of the Lord, or *the uncontrouled reign of the atheistical king* and *his subsequent destruction along with all the other enemies of God*, and at length conducting us to that happy period when all the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.

* *The French revolution* in *the year* 1789. It professed to establish a limited monarchy, respecting at once the prerogatives of a lawful prince, and the liberties of the people. This deceived numbers; and led them to form the romantic idea, that France was become (to use the detestable cant of the day) a *regenerated* kingdom. Four years however were not suffered to elapse from the commencement of the revolution; ere the streets of Paris and the provincial towns streamed with the blood of innumerable victims, ere the sovereign himself was brought to the scaffold, ere religion was abolished and a sort of jumble of atheism and idolatry was established in its stead. *Antichrist* soon threw off his mask of toleration, candour, and universal philanthropy; and stood openly revealed in all his native deformity. His lamb-like pretensions to reason, moderation, and humanity, vanished as the fleeting clouds of the morning: and the astonished world suddenly beheld the existence of an "execrable power, which alone has steeled the hearts of its "votaries against every feeling of nature; has dared to sanction "treason, parricide, lust, and massacre, and to infuse into the "breasts of its subject multitudes a new passion, which has "sunk them beneath the level of the brute creation; a passion "for the sight of their fellow-creatures in the agonies of death, "and a *literal* thirst for human blood." Hist. the Inter. Vol. ii. p. 215, 216.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE EFFECTS OF THE TWO FIRST WOE-TRUMPETS IN THE EAST.

THE effects of *the two first woe-trumpets* in *the East* have been so fully and satisfactorily discussed by Mr. Mede and Bp. Newton, that, agreeing with them as I do in the great outlines of their interpretation, I shall do little more than abridge their remarks.

1. At the sounding of *the fifth trumpet (the first* of *the three woe-trumpets)*, *a star* falls from heaven to earth; receives a key; and opens with it the pit of the abyss. Forthwith there arises a thick *smoke*; and, in the midst of it, issues out a vast swarm of *locusts* with *their leader Apollyon* at their head. The commission of these *locusts* is, not to hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree; but only those men, who have not the seal of God in their foreheads: and, in point of time, it is limited to *five prophetic months*, or 150 *natural years*. As for *the locusts* themselves, they are like horses prepared unto battle; their crowns are of gold; their faces are as the faces of men; they have hair as the hair of women; their teeth are as

the

the teeth of lions; their breastplates are like breastplates of iron; they have the tails of scorpions, armed with deadly stings; and the sound of their wings is as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle *.

Bp. Newton supposes *the fallen star* to be *the impostor Mohammed*; and yet afterwards represents *the locust-sovereign Apollyon* as being *Mohammed* likewise. To say nothing of so plain a repetition, the prophet evidently describes *the star* and *the king* as being two entirely different persons. *The fallen star* opens the pit of the abyss, and lets out *Apollyon* with his *locusts*: consequently *Apollyon* was confined in the pit, until he was let out by *the star*: therefore *Apollyon* and *the star* cannot both be *Mohammed*. Moreover, independent of this circumstance; *the Arabian impostor* can with no more propriety be symbolized by *a fallen star*, than *the Vandalic monarch Genseric*. Mohammed never was *a star* in the sense of *a Christian pastor*: and, when he afterwards became *a sovereign*, so far from *falling* from his high estate, he was uniformly *successful* in all his enterprises. We must look out therefore for some other character, to whom the hieroglyphic of *a fallen star* is more applicable.

I conceive then, that *the fallen star of the first woe-trumpet* is the chief among those ecclesiastical *stars* of the western *third part* of the empire; which,

* Rev. ix. 1—11.

in

in the prophecy of *the woman and the man-child*, are said to have been cast down from heaven, or to have been seduced into apostasy, by the machinations of the infernal *dragon* *. The *consequence* of this great revolt, which extended to the east as well as to the west, which was specially headed by the *star* or *bishop* of Rome, which commenced at a very early period, but which was openly developed when *the man of sin* was revealed at the commencement of *the* 1260 *days*: the *consequence* of this great revolt was the rise of *Mohammedism*; which professed to be a system of pure theism, destined to supersede and abolish the idolatrous corruptions of the Christian Church. Hence, as *Mohammedism* was the *consequence* of that apostasy which was headed by the episcopal *star* of Rome, the door of the mystic cave, from which it emerged, is figuratively said to have been *opened* by a star that had fallen out of heaven †.

"From his earliest youth," says Mr. Gibbon, "Mohammed was addicted to religious contempla-
"tion. Each year, during the month of Ramadan,
"he withdrew from the world. In the cave of
"Hera, three miles from Mecca, he consulted the
"spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not
"in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet.
"The faith, which, under the name of *Islam*, he
"preached to his family and nation, is compounded

* Rev. xii. 4.

† I am indebted for this interpretation of *the fallen star* to Mr. Cuninghame. See his Dissert. on the seals and trumpets, p. 85.

"of

" of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction: that " *there is only one God*, and that *Mohammed is the* " *apostle of God*.—The Christians of the seventh " century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance " of paganism. Their public and private vows " were addressed to the relics and images that dis- " graced the temples of the east: the throne of the " Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, " and saints, and angels, the objects of popular ve- " neration: and the Collyridian heretics, who " flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested " the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a " goddess.—Intemperate curiosity and zeal had " torn the veil of the sanctuary: and each of the " oriental sects was eager to confess, that all, except " themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and " polytheism. The creed of Mohammed is free " from suspicion and ambiguity: and the Koran is " a glorious testimony to the unity of God.—The " first principle of reason and revelation was con- " firmed by the voice of Mohammed: his proselytes, " from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the " name of *Unitarians*: and the danger of ido- " latry has been prevented by the interdiction of " images *."

It was in *the year* 606, that the episcopal *star* of Rome fell from heaven, or, in the language of St. Paul, that *the man of sin* was openly revealed: hence, as the sounding of *the trumpet* commences

* Hist. of the Decline, vol. ix. p. 259—263.

with

with the fall of *the star*, it must have began to sound in *the year* 606. But it was in this self-same year, that Mohammed committed the first overt act of his apostasy by retiring to the cave of Hera: hence *the fallen star* figuratively opened the door of the pit, immediately before the impostor thus retired. The *locusts* however and their *leader* did not instantly issue forth from the pit, or publicly disclose themselves to the world as the propagators of a Satanical religion: their manifestation was to be *preceded*, no less than *accompanied*, by the *smoke* and *fumes* of the corrupt theology which they were about to teach; while that *smoke* and those *fumes* clearly could not arise from the pit, until its door had been previously opened by *the fallen star*. Accordingly, the order of events exactly corresponded with the prophetic annunciation of them. At the sounding of *the first woe-trumpet* in *the year* 606, the *star* of Rome fell from heaven; and, by the instrumentality of that great apostasy which he headed, set wide open the door of the pit *. As soon as the door was opened, Mohammed, in the very same year, retired into the desert, and began to frame his imposture. In *the year* 609, having now fully digested his plan, he quitted his solitary retreat

* It is said, that *the key of the pit was given to the fallen star.* I am inclined to suspect, that such phraseology is neither merely accidental nor merely ornamental. To him, who proudly claims the power of the keys of heaven and of hell as the successor of St. Peter, a key is indeed given; but it is the key only of the pit of imposture.

in the cave of Hera*; and began to excite that preparatory allegorical *smoke*, which soon darkened all *the eastern heaven*. "Three years he *silently* "*employed* in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, "the first-fruits of his mission†: but, in *the fourth* "*year*," or *the year* 612, "he *assumed the pro-* "*phetic office*, and resolved to impart to his family "the light of divine truth‡." In *this year* 612

* The imagery of this prophecy seems to be taken from the sacred oracular caves of the pagans, which were often thought to communicate with the sea or the great abyss. Hence such imagery is singularly appropriate in predicting the rise of a religious imposture. Thus far I agree with Mr. Whitaker: but I doubt, whether there be any latent allusion to the *literal* issuing forth of Mohammed from the cave of Hera; though it is highly probable, that that cave was in pagan times a grotto temple of Hera or the Lady, as the oracular great mother was often denominated. The prophecy says, that *the locusts* tormented men *five months* or 150 *natural years*. But they could not torment men until they emerged from the pit. Consequently, *the* 150 *years* must be computed from their so emerging. Now Mohammed *literally* quitted the cave of Hera about *the year* 609. But, if 150 years be computed from that era, they will not bring us to any point of time when the figurative *locusts* can be said to have ceased as *a woe*. Hence *the* 150 *years* cannot have commenced in *the year* 609: and hence therefore Mohammed's *literal* quitting of the cave in that year cannot be intended by the emerging of *the locusts* from the pit, which figurative action must have taken place in a totally different year. Whitaker's Comment. p. 123.

† Dr. Prideaux makes the impostor emerge from his cave in *the year* 608, and spend *four years* in the private exercise of his assumed function. This arrangement, however, no less than that of Mr. Gibbon, equally brings us to *the year* 612. Life o Mohammed, p. 15.

‡ Hist. of Decline and Fall. Vol. ix. p. 284.

then, *Mohammed and his disciples*, or *Apollyon and his locusts*, closely following the thick preparatory smoke, may be considered as issuing from the door of that pit of the abyss, which *the fallen star* had *consequentially* been the instrument of opening. Such being the case, *the five prophetic months*, during which the locusts were allowed to torment mankind, expired in *the year* 762; when the caliph Almansor built Bagdad as the future seat of his empire, and called it *the city of peace*. At this period, the Saracens ceased from their locust devastations, and became a settled people. Henceforth they no longer made such rapid conquests as they had formerly done; but only engaged in ordinary wars like other nations. *The five months*, or 150 *years*, being now expired, *Mohammedism* was firmly established; although the power of its *particular* votaries the Saracens began to decline, in order to make room for its *new* proselytes, described under *the next trumpet* *.

A command was given to Apollyon, and his symbolical locusts, that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree—

* I cannot assent to Sir Isaac Newton's supposition, that the prophet's repetition of *the five months*, in two *different* verses, implies *ten months* or 300 *years*: Had St. John meant to convey this idea, he would have joined *the two periods of five months each*, by a conjunction copulative, in *the same verse*; as thus: "their "power was to torment men five months *and* five months." Otherwise, upon the same principle, we must extend the persecution of *the Church* from 1260 *years* to *twice* 1260 *years*: for the period is *twice* mentioned in the *single* prophecy of *the woman's flight into the wilderness*. Compare Rev. xii. 6, with ver. 14.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, it was the special injunction of Abubeker to the Saracens, that they should destroy no palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn; that they should cut down no fruit trees, nor injure any cattle except such as they killed to eat.

The commission of the locusts extended only to hurt those men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads; and, though they were permitted to hurt *them, their warrant gave them no authority to* kill *them*—Now it appears from history, that in the countries invaded by the Saracens a very great defection from primitive Christianity had taken place; for, before they began their ravages, the will-worship of saints and martyrs had extended itself far and wide, and *the great Apostasy of* 1260 *days* had commenced. Hence we find, that, when they approached Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern provinces of France, which had been but little tainted with the general disease and which were afterwards the seat of the Waldenses and Albigenses, they were defeated with great slaughter by Charles Martel in several engagements. They were however only allowed to *torment* the great body politic of the apostate empire; they were not permitted to *kill* its remaining *third part*. Accordingly, they were never able to *take* Constantinople, or to *subvert* its monarchy, though they frequently attempted it; the task of giving *the fatal blow* to its declining power being reserved for their successors the Turks.

The symbolical locusts were like horses prepared

for the battle: the strength of the Saracens consisted chiefly in their cavalry—*The locusts had on their heads as it were crowns like gold:* the Arabs have constantly worn turbans; and even boast that they wear, as their common attire, those ornaments which among other people are the peculiar badges of royalty—*The locusts had faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women:* the Arabs, as Pliny testifies, wore their beards, or at least their mustachios, as men; while their hair was flowing or plaited, like that of women—*The teeth of the locusts were as the teeth of a lion;* an expression frequently used in Scripture to denote great strength*: *the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle;* to represent at once the rapid conquests of the Saracens, and their proverbial skill in horsemanship: *and they had stings in their tails like Scorpions;* to signify that they should carry along with them, wherever they flew, a loathsome and deadly superstition †.

At the conclusion of the prophecy respecting *the Saracenic locusts,* it is added, "One woe is past." Now, since we had already been informed, that their power of doing mischief was limited to *five months,* or 150 *years;* it is evident, that *the first woe-trumpet* ceased to sound at the end of *the* 150 *years,* or in *the year of our Lord* 762. It further

* "Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth: break out the "great teeth of the young lions, O Lord." Psalm lviii. 6.

† Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. ix.

appears, that a considerable period of time was to elapse between the end of *the first woe-trumpet*, and the beginning of *the second:* for the prophet *here* simply intimates, that "there come two more woes "*hereafter;*" whereas, at *the conclusion of the second woe*, he asserts, "behold the third woe cometh "*quickly* *."

2. At the sounding of *the sixth angel*, a command was given him to loose *the four angels* who were hitherto bound in the regions bordering on the great river Euphrates†. Accordingly, they were forthwith loosed, having been prepared in the councils of God even to the very hour, the day, the month, and the year, in order that they might slay *the third part of men*. The cavalry, which composed their armies, amounted to two hundred thousand thousand. The warriors themselves appeared to the prophet to wear breast-plates of fire, and hyacinth, and brimstone: and from the lion-like heads of their horses seemed to proceed fire, and smoke, and brimstone; by which, when the appointed hour arrived, *the third part of men* were killed. *The horses of the Euphratèan cavalry*, like *the Saracenic locusts*, had power no less in their tails than in their mouths: for "their tails were "like serpents, and had heads, and with them they "do hurt." Notwithstanding the death of *the third*

* We shall find in the sequel that this has been exactly the case.

† Gr. επι τω ποταμω τω μεγαλω Ευφρατη, *on* the great river Euphrates, not *in* it, as our common translation reads.

part

part of men, the prophet informs us, that those, who had escaped *these two successive plagues*, still hardened their hearts, and repented not of their idolatry, their sorcery, and their fornication *.

The four angels are *the four sultanies of the Turks*; the capitals of which were *Bagdad* †, *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, and *Iconium* ‡. These were long restrained from extending their conquests beyond the territories, immediately adjoining to the river Euphrates, by the instrumentality, in the course of God's providence, of the crusades. But, when the Christians abandoned Syria and Egypt at the latter end of *the thirteenth century*, then *the four angels* on the river Euphrates were loosed. According to Saadi, the first victory of the Turks over the Christians was achieved in *the year* 1281, when the city of Cutahi was taken by Ortogrul §. This prince, dying in *the year* 1288, was succeeded by his son Othman; who, having united in one

* Rev. ix. 13—21.

† Late the proud seat of Saracenic domination.

‡ The number *four* twice occurs in the early history of the Turks, no less than in the precise number of their *Sultanies*. *Solyman Shah* was drowned in attempting to cross the Euphrates with his *three sons*; and was succeeded by his youngest son *Ortogrul*, who had likewise *three sons*. I think however, that *the four Sultanies* are peculiarly meant; for prophecy usually speaks of *states*, rather than of *individuals*. But, in whatever manner the prediction of *the four Euphratèan angels* be understood, it is accurately accomplished in the fortunes of *the Turkish empire*.

§ See Bp. Newton in loc.

monarchy

monarchy the four Turkish sultanies, immediately turned his arms against the Constantinopolitan empire. "It was on the 27th of July, in the year "1299 of the Christian era, that Othman first in- "vaded the territory of Nicomedia; and the sin- "gular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some "foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of "the monster *."

Under *the fifth trumpet*, we have seen the men, who had not the seal of God in their foreheads, *tormented*, but not *killed*. We now find, under *the sixth trumpet*, that *the third part of men*, or that *third part of the Roman empire* which constituted *the Constantinopolitan monarchy*, is to be *slain*, and not merely *tormented*, by *the Euphratèan horsemen* †. For this office of vengeance, we are told, that *the four angels*, the representatives of *the Turkish power*, were prepared to the very day, the hour, the month, and the year. Here it is natural to in-

* Hist. of Decline and Fall. Vol. xi. p. 433.

† It may not be improper here to observe, that *the death of a beast* and *the death of a community* do not mean the same thing. *The death of a beast* denotes *the extinction of those idolatrous principles which cause a pagan empire to be symbolized by a beast:* whereas *the death of a community* denotes *its subversion*. Hence we do not find it said, that *the Roman beast* was slain by *the Euphratèan horsemen*, because such phraseology would not have conveyed the intended meaning of the prophet; but that *the third part of men*, or *the body politic of the third part of the original Empire*, was slain. Accordingly, in perfect agreement with this distinction, *the Roman beast* still continued to exist, and will exist to the very end of *the* 1260 *years*, notwithstanding *the political death of the third part of men*.

quire,

quire, why the time should be specified with such singular exactness; for, in the divine counsels, it may be said, *every* event is alike fixed to its own predetermined moment. The most obvious answer seems to be, that the final destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire was not only fixed to a moment in the divine counsels *secretly*, but likewise in some *open* and *remarkable* manner fixed to a precise point of time by the prepared warriors themselves. Let us hear the voice of history as she recounts the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed the second. "The distress and fall of "the last Constantine are more glorious than the "long prosperity of the Byzantine Cesars. In the "confusion of darkness an assailant may some-"times succeed: but, in this great and general "attack, the military judgment and astrological "knowledge of Mohammed advised him to expect "the morning, the memorable *29th of May*, in "*the* 1453*d year* of the Christian era—From the "first hour, disorder and rapine prevailed in Con-"stantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day; "when the Sultan himself passed in triumph through "the gate of St. Romanus—It was thus, after a "siege of *fifty three days*, that Constantinople, "which had defied the power of Chosroes, the "Chagan, and the Caliphs, was irretrievably sub-"dued by the arms of Mohammed the second*." Thus, agreeably to the remarkable terms of the

* Hist, of Decline and Fall, Vol, xii. p. 226, 239, 231.

prophecy,

prophecy, were the forces of *the Euphratèan cavalry* prepared to the very day, the hour, the month, and the year, in order that they might slay *the apocalyptic third part of men.* They were prepared by the astrological superstition of their prince not merely to *the year*, but to *the month;* not merely to *the month*, but to *the day;* not merely to *the day*, but to *the hour.* They were prepared to the first *hour* of the 29th *day* of the *month* of May in the *year* 1453*.

The

* There is a question respecting *the day, the hour, the month, and the year*, whether they denote *a certain season of continuance* or *an appointed epoch of action.* Mr. Mede, Mr. Brightman, Sir Isaac Newton, Bp. Newton, Mr. Fleming, and other expositors, adopt the former opinion: Archdeacon Woodhouse, on the contrary, asserts that "the original language will not admit of "this construction," and therefore rejects it altogether (Apoc. trans. p. 260, 262, 273.). Whether his assertion be *perfectly* well founded or not, I think him right in rejecting the idea that *a season of continuance* is intended. St. John frequently speaks of *continuance of time;* and, whenever that is the case, he never uses the phraseology here employed (Compare Rev. ix. 5, 10. xi. 2, 3, 9. xii. 6, 14. xiii. 5. xx. 2, 4. with ix. 15.). Whence it is natural to suppose, that he is not here speaking of *continuance of time.* And the supposition is confirmed by finding, that, according to the translation of the LXX, this very phraseology is used by Daniel to designate *an appointed epoch. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the* 1335 *days*, that is, *to the end of the* 1335 *days;* εις ἡμερας χιλιας τριακοσιας τριακοντα πεντε. But, even if it be allowed that *continuance of time* may here be spoken of by St. John, still none of the schemes of those commentators will be found tenable; because they uniformly, though with some variations of exposition, apply the supposed continuance of time to *the period of the horsemen's*

The cavalry of the Euphratean warriors is described as consisting of myriads upon myriads: and they are represented as wearing breast-plates of fire, of hyacinth, and of brimstone; or, in other words, red, blue, and yellow. The Turks brought immense armies into the field, composed chiefly of horse; and, from the first time of their appearance, have been peculiarly attached to the colours of blue, yellow, and scarlet—*The heads of their horses were as the heads of lions, to denote their great strength and fierceness: out of their mouths seemed to issue fire, and smoke, and brimstone: and by this semblance of lightning, the prophet observed, that the third part of men were killed.* This seems to be an allusion to the enormous artillery employed by Mohammed in the siege of Constantinople; by the instrumentality of which he chiefly succeeded in taking that city, and in thus slaying the apocalyptic *third part of men.* The stupendous size and destructive efficacy of his cannon is described with much particularity of circumstance by the historian of that period*—*The horses moreover had power to do hurt by their tails, as well as by their mouths, their tails being like unto serpents, and having heads.* The Turks, like

horsemen's conquests, wherens, if *continuance* be spoken of, it must be *the continuance of their state of preparation*: ἡτοιμασμενοι εις την ὡραν και ἡμεραν και μηνα και ενιαυτον. In the three first editions of this work I had adopted Bp. Newton's exposition; but I am now convinced that it is untenable.

* Hist. of Decline and Fall. Vol. xii. p. 197, 211, 213.

the Saracens, were not merely secular conquerors, but were animated with all the wild fanaticism of a false religion. They professed and propagated the same imposture; they injured no less by their doctrines, than by their conquests; and, wherever they established their dominion, the Koran triumphed over the Gospel.

Yet, notwithstanding the signal overthrow of the Constantinopolitan monarchy, the rest of men, who were not killed by these plagues, repented not of their idolatrous worship of mediatory saints and angels, nor of their spiritual sorceries and fornication—Accordingly we find, that in *the papal church* idolatry was at its height during the sounding of *the sixth trumpet*; and in the same manner as *Mohammedism* attained to the zenith of its glory by the subversion of *the Greek empire*. Previous to this period, *the Greek church* had struggled successfully with *the Roman church* for independence and equality: but the downfall of Constantinople effectually humbled both the ecclesiastical rival of *Popery*, and the temporal antagonist of *Mohammedism*. In the days of the Saracens, *the Arabian imposture* triumphed over the proud monarchy of Persia; but was only able to *torment* the declining remains of the once formidable empire of Rome. In the days of the Turks, it beheld the city of Constantine prostrate at its feet, as well as the capital of Chosroes. Still however did *the Church of Rome* continue her triumphs over sense, humanity, and religion. Unawed by the signal punishment of her

sister

sister of Constantinople, she resolutely set her face against *the reformation* which commenced under *this trumpet*, and persecuted those who protested against her superstition and appealed to Scripture: *a more tremendous power* therefore, than either *the Saracens* or *the Turks*, will be summoned against her by the blast of *the third woe;* which nevertheless will afterwards perish, united with her.

It is observable, that *the precise duration* of *the second woe-trumpet* is not marked by St. John in his prophecy of *the Euphratèan horsemen.* They are said to be loosed, after having been bound; and they are represented as attacking after their liberation *the third part of men*, and as finally slaying this *third part:* consequently, *the second woe-trumpet* must have begun to sound at the latter end of *the thirteenth century*, probably in *the year* 1281, when the Turks under Ortogrul gained their first victory over the Greek empire by the conquest of Cutahi. But it does not terminate, till *the great earthquake* in the West has taken place, and till *a tenth part of the Roman city* has fallen*. Then we are informed, that "the second woe is past, and, "behold, the third woe cometh quickly."

* Rev. xi. 13.

CHAP.

CHAPTER X.

CONTENTS OF THE LITTLE BOOK—HISTORY OF THE WESTERN APOSTASY UNDER THE THREE WOE-TRUMPETS.

ST. JOHN, having shewn the effects of *the two first woe-trumpets in the East*, next passes to the collateral and contemporary history of *the West:* for *the same woe-trumpet*, which called into action *the Mohammedan Apostasy*, produced likewise the development of *the papal Apostasy*.

In order to avoid needless confusion, the Apostle throws the *whole* history of *Popery*, during *the whole* 1260 *days*, and under *all the three woe-trumpets**, into a sort of episode to his *general* series

* Bp. Newton is certainly mistaken in saying, that *the little book* "properly cometh under *the sixth trumpet*." *The little book* itself *repeatedly* declares, that it comprehends *all the* 1260 *years:* but *the* 1260 *years* extend through *the whole period* of *the three woe-trumpets;* or at least through the whole of it, except that part which is included in the effusion of *the last vial*, and which synchronizes with Daniel's *time of the end:* whence it is manifest, that *the little book* must include, not only *the sixth trumpet*, but *the fifth* and *seventh* also. This is sufficiently evident both from

series of prophecies; which he terms *a little book*, or *a codicil to his greater book of the Apocalypse.* This *little book* comprehends the *eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth,* and *fourteenth, chapters* of *the Revelation:* and, in point of chronology, all these chapters run parallel to each other, relating severally, though with some variety of circumstances, to the same period and the same events; so as to form jointly *a complete history of the western Apostasy, and of all the principal actors in it.*

1. *The first chapter* of *the little book** gives an account of *the treading of the holy city under foot during forty-two months;* of *the desolate prophesying of the witnesses, during the same period of* 1260 *days;* of *their being slain by the beast of the abyss;* of *their lying dead in the broad street of the great city during three days and a half;* of *their revival;* of *their triumphant ascent into the symbolical heaven;* and of *the earthquake which was*

from the date of *the fifth trumpet*, and from the termination of *the seventh:* for *the fifth trumpet* begins to sound at the very commencement of *the* 1260 *years*, namely when *the pit of the abyss* was opened in *the year* 606 by *the fallen star of Rome;* and *the seventh trumpet* brings us down, through the different stages of *its first six vials*, to the end of *the* 1260 *years.* Since then *the little book* comprehends *the whole of the* 1260 *years*, it must necessarily commence with the sounding of *the fifth trumpet*, and must likewise include *the seventh trumpet.* Accordingly we find, that *the seventh angel* is represented as actually sounding in *the little book* (Rev. xi. 15); though a more particular account of the effects of his blast is reserved for a distinct prophecy in *the large book.* Rev. xv.—xix.

* Rev. xi.

to

to overthrow the tenth part of the city, and to be the last great event under the second woe: and it finally announces *the sounding of the seventh trumpet,* which brings us down to *the end of the* 1260 *days;* but announces it without descending minutely to *particularise* its effects*. *In this chapter* (it is to be observed) *the beast of the abyss* is *barely mentioned:* and no intimation whatsoever is given, either *what this beast is, by whose instigation he acts,* or *whose minister he is;* the prophet reserving *these particulars* for his *two succeeding chapters.*

2. *The second chapter of the little book*† lets us into the whole mystery of iniquity, so far as its *original mover* is concerned. We there learn, that *the* 1260 *years persecution* of the true church of Christ is the contrivance of *that old serpent, the devil;* who is represented under the image of *a dragon with seven heads and ten horns,* in order to shew us by the instrumentality of *what minister* he was about to slay *the witnesses,* and to drive *the woman* into the wilderness.

3. *The third chapter of the little book*‡, passes from the master to the servant; and shews us who is *that minister* of the dragon, *that beast of the abyss,* which had already been represented as the murderer of *the two witnesses.* It describes him as

* Its effects are afterwards detailed very circumstantially under *the seven vials,* and in the chapters subsequent to that which relates to *the pouring out of the vials.*

† Rev. xii. ‡ Rev. xiii.

having

having *seven heads and ten horns;* the very heads and horns, which *the dragon* induces him to use against *the woman,* mentioned in *the preceding chapter.*

The third chapter further teaches us, *by whose instigation* as a *second* cause, *the minister of the dragon,* or *the beast of the abyss,* is induced to take up arms against *the woman* and *the two witnesses.* His *instigator* is *another beast,* quite *distinct* from *himself,* though very intimately connected with him: *a beast,* which comes up out of *the earth,* or *Roman empire;* which has *two horns* like *a lamb;* which speaks as *a dragon;* and which exerciseth all the power of *the first beast* before him, not in a *hostile* but in a *friendly* manner, for he causeth *the whole earth* to worship his colleague and supporter *the first beast.*

4. *The fourth chapter* of *the little book** describes the internal state of *the true Church* during the prevalence of *the western Apostasy;* predicts the *Reformation;* and divides some of the most prominent events of *the seventh trumpet,* which are detailed at large hereafter under *the seven vials,* into two grand classes, *the harvest* and *the vintage* of God's wrath, teaching us that *the winepress* shall be trodden in a certain country the space of which extends 1600 furlongs.

We learn then from *the four chapters* of *the little book,* both *what the beast of the abyss is,* namely a

* Rev. xiv.

certain

certain beast with seven heads and ten horns; *by whose instigation he acts*, namely by that of a second beast with two horns; and *whose minister and tool he is*, namely that of the great red dragon. We moreover learn, that *making himself a tool of the dragon*, and *acting by the instigation of the second beast*, the *seven-headed and ten-horned beast of the abyss* or *of the sea* (for *the sea* and *the abyss* mean the same thing, and *the beast of the sea* is palpably the same power as *the beast of the abyss* *): this *seven-headed and ten-horned beast* should wage a war of 1260 *years* against *the woman* and *the two witnesses* who have the name of God written in their foreheads; but that nevertheless *the Apostasy* should receive a great check by the preaching of the Gospel †, and afterwards should be totally overthrown in the time of God's vintage ‡.

The way being thus cleared by this general statement, I shall proceed to consider the contents of *the little book* at large in five different sections, according as it naturally divides itself. 1. The pro-

* Compare Rev. xiii. 1. with Rev. xvii. 3, 8. The Seventy commonly use the word Αβυσσος to express the Hebrew תהום, which denotes *the mighty abyss of oceanic waters*: and the classical writers employ the cognate words Βυσσος and Βυθος to describe *the sea*. Hence, since *the seven-headed and ten-horned beast* is indifferently said to come up from *the sea* and from *the abyss*, we may naturally conclude, that St. John uses the latter word in the same sense as the Seventy and the classical writers. See Parkhurst's Gr. Lex. vox Αβυσσος.

† Rev. xiv. 6. ‡ Rev. xiv. 18, 19, 20.

phesying of the witnesses; 2. The war of the dragon with the woman; 3. The ten horned beast of the sea; 4. The two-horned beast of the earth; 5. The collateral history of the true Church, and the harvest and vintage of God's wrath.

SECTION I.

Concerning the prophesying of the two witnesses.

In the present section I shall attempt to explain *the first chapter* of *the little book*, which contains the history of the persecution of *the two witnesses* by *the beast of the abyss.*

I. " And there was given me a reed like unto a " rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and " measure the temple of God, and the altar, and " them that worship therein. But the court, which " is without the temple, leave out, and measure it " not; for it is given unto the Gentiles; and the " holy city shall they tread under foot forty and " two months."

This prophecy commences with *the year* 606; which is the first year of *the great Apostasy*, and which synchronizes with the earliest blast of *the first woe-trumpet. The temple, the altar*, and *they that worship therein*, are *those few Christians, who in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation stood fast in the faith of Jesus Christ:* and *the court without the temple* symbolizes *those, who retained indeed*

indeed the name of Christians, but had grossly apostatized from the truth. The holy city, which is given to them to tread under foot and to pollute with superstitious abominations during the period of *forty-two prophetic months*, a period equivalent to *the* 1260 *years of the Apostasy*, is *the visible Church of Christ**. St. John therefore is ordered to *measure*, or *take an account of*, the faithful servants of God, who never ceased, in a greater or less number, to exist throughout the whole duration of *the Apostasy:* while he is commanded to *leave out*, and *not to measure*, the *outer court*, as containing only *those nominal Christians*, who in practice were Gentiles, and who were unworthy the notice of a being of infinite purity†.

II. " And

* *The holy city* here mentioned cannot mean *the literal Jerusalem*, because the treading of it under foot is to continue only 1260 *years*, and during the reign of *the Papal horn;* whereas the treading under foot of *the literal Jerusalem* has already continued upwards of 1700 *years*, and commenced long *before* the reign of *the Papal horn*. The prophecy therefore of our Lord in Luke xxi. 24. which relates to *the literal Jerusalem*, cannot have any connection with the prophecy of St. John in Rev. xi. 2, which relates to the period of *the* 1260 *years*. See Chap. ii. § II. 3.

† *Measuring the servants of God* is equivalent to *sealing them* (See Rev. vii. 3.). Hence the commission of *the Saracenic locusts* extended only to those, who had not *the Seal of God* in their foreheads; they were not able to approach to Piedmont and Savoy, the country of those *that were sealed*. *The unmeasured tenants* of the outer court, and *the unsealed men* throughout the Roman empire, are alike *the votaries of the Apostasy:* while *they that were measured*, and *they that were sealed*, are *the saints who refused*

II. " And I will give power unto my two wit-
" nesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two
" hundred and three score days clothed in sack-
" cloth. These are the two olive trees, and the
" two candlesticks, standing before the God of the
" earth. And, if any man will hurt them, fire pro-
" ceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their
" enemies: and, if any man will hurt them, he
" must in this manner be killed. These have power
" to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of
" their prophecy: and have power over waters to
" turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with
" all plagues, as often as they will."

1. It is evident, that *these two witnesses* are to be

to be partakers of its abominations. Mr. Mede is perfectly right in his idea of *the outer court*; but I cannot think with him that *the inner court* means *the primitive Church* previous to the revelation of *the man of sin*, because the whole allegory is included within *the* 1260 *years*, and consequently *those symbolized by the inner court* and *those symbolized by the outer court* must necessarily be contemporary. *They of the outer court* indeed are the very men who persecute *the witnesses of the inner court* (See Comment. Apoc. in loc.). *The sealing of the servants of God* takes place under *the sixth seal* and during the reign of Constantine, because *the apostasy*, considered *individually*, commenced about that time. It separated the wheat from the tares, and was preparatory to the subsequent grand division of *the witnesses* from *the gentiles of the outer court.* A new race of *gentiles* began to insinuate themselves into *the holy city* at the time when *the servants of God* were sealed, or when *the Apostasy* commenced *individually:* but *the outer court* was not formally *given* unto them by the secular power, till *the saints* were given into the hand of *the little papal horn* in *the year* 606, and till *the Apostasy* became dominant.

contemporary

contemporary with *the great Apostasy*, because they are to continue throughout its whole duration of 1260 *years* *; and it is equally evident, that they are to be hostile to it, because they are represented as prophesying in sackcloth, and as being the peculiar objects of *the beast's* fury. They are moreover not to exist at *this* time, or at *that* time, but from *the very beginning* to *the very end* of *the Apostasy*: consequently it is manifest, that they cannot be *any two mere individuals*. The question then is, *what* they are? Mr. Galloway endeavours to prove them to be *the Old* and *New Testament* †. In this conjecture he follows Colter, More, and Napier ‡: but such an opinion runs directly counter to a very wholesome rule, which every commentator upon hieroglyphical prophecy ought particularly to attend to: *Having once established the definite meaning of a symbol, never afterwards think yourself at liberty to depart from that meaning* §. The *two witnesses* are expressly said by St. John to be *the two olive trees*, and *the two candlesticks*, standing before the God of the earth. But both *an olive tree*, and *a*

* I speak of *the Apostasy* in its *dominant* state.

† Brief Comment, p. 45 et infra. Mr. Burton fancies the *two witnesses* to be Daniel and St. John; but, as he does not even *attempt* to shew in what particulars they answer to the character of *the witnesses*, he leaves no room for a regular confutation. Essay on the numbers of Daniel and St. John, p. 241, 242, 246.

‡ See Pol. Synop. in loc. Brightman thinks, that they are *the Scriptures*, and *the congregation of the faithful*. Apoc. fol. 169.

§ See the beginning of *the Preface to this work*.

candlestick,

candlestick, are equally symbols of *a church**. Consequently *the two witnesses* must be *two churches*; and therefore cannot be *the two Testaments*. Bp. Newton thinks, that *no two particular men*, or *particular churches*, are meant by them: but only that there should be *a few faithful servants of God* in every age, who should protest against the superstitious corruptions of their times. His Lordship is perfectly right in *the spirit*, though not quite accurate in *the letter*, of his interpretation. There is so much precision in all the numbers both of Daniel and St. John, that we ought to be *very* jealous of breaking down the barrier of their *literal* acceptation †. Scripture will ever be found the most satisfactory expositor of Scripture: and such I apprehend to be the case in the present instance. Throughout the whole Apocalypse the idea of *the twofold Church* of Christ is accurately preserved: *the Church before the advent of our Lord*, and *the Church after his advent; the Church founded upon the Prophets*, and *the Church founded upon the Apostles*; Jesus Christ himself being equally the corner-stone of *both*. Accordingly we find, in the very beginning of the Revelation, mention made of *twenty-four elders*, who are represented as being in *heaven*, the

* See Chap. ii. § II. 3.

† It was wisely observed by Abp. Secker, that "it doth not "appear that any of the numbers in Daniel mean uncertainty." His Grace might with equal propriety have extended his remark to St. John, with a very few exceptions which explain themselves. See Rev. vii. 4. and Rev. xxi. 16, 17.

symbol

symbol of *the universal Church. Twelve of these*, in allusion to *the twelve Jewish patriarchs*, are representatives of *the pre-Christian Church*: and *the other twelve*, in allusion to *the twelve Apostles*, are representatives of *the post-Christian Church*. Whence *the mystical number of God's chosen* is said to be 144,000; or *twelve* multiplied into *twelve*, and afterwards again multiplied into *a thousand*, to shew that the pious constitute an exceeding great multitude. Whence also *the symbolical city of the Lamb*, or *the universal Church triumphant*, is described as *a perfect cube of* 12,000 *furlongs*; having *twelve gates* upon which are written the names of *the twelve tribes of Israel*, and *twelve foundations* in which are the names of *the twelve Apostles* of the Lamb. And whence lastly the faithful are represented as singing the song not only of *the Lamb*, but likewise of *Moses the servant of God*. Now, when we recollect, that the prophet begins the chapter, wherein he treats of *the two witnesses*, with an account of his measuring *the spiritual temple*: when we further consider, that St. John's imagery of *the two candlesticks*, and *the two olive trees*, is evidently taken from Zechariah's vision of *the second temple**; and that he himself describes *the twenty-four elders* as being in *the figurative heaven*, or *the Church general*, in the same manner as *the candlesticks* and *the olive trees* were placed in *the temple*, which is another symbol of *the spiri-*

* Zech. iv. 2, 3, 9, 11—14.

tual

tual Church general as contradistinguished from *the outer court of* mere nominal Christians: when the whole of this is duly weighed, and when the undoubted fact that St. John borrows this set of hieroglyphics from *the Jewish temple* and *its furniture* is taken into the account; I think we cannot but come to the conclusion, that *the twenty-four elders, the twelve gates*, and *the twelve foundations* of the new Jerusalem, *the two olive trees, the two candlesticks**, and *the two witnesses*, all equally signify *the spiritual members of the catholic Church*, considered as *one great whole*, though made up of *two component parts*. Not that any of the members of the pre-Christian Church *literally* prophesied during *the* 1260 *years* of *the great Apostasy:* the prophet speaks only of men of a like spirit with themselves, the mystical children of *the Church general* now for ever united under its illustrious head, those who are Israelites indeed. "Now to Abraham and his seed "were the promises made. He saith not, *and unto* "*seeds*, as of many; but as of one, *and to thy seed*, "which is Christ—But, before faith came, we were

* It is evident, that *the two olive trees* are the same as *the two candlesticks*, and that they are not designed to symbolize *four* different particulars; because *the witnesses*, who are only *two* in number, are said to be typified not merely by *the two olive trees*, but likewise additionally by *the two candlesticks*. Whence it will follow, that *the one olive tree* is the same in point of signification as *the one candlestick*, and *the other* as *the other*.

I have said more on this subject in my answer to Mr. Bicheno.

"kept

" kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which " should afterwards be revealed—Ye are *all* the " children of God by faith in Christ Jesus—There " is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, " there is neither male nor female: for *ye are all* " *one* in Christ Jesus. And, if ye be Christ's, *then* " *are ye Abraham's seed,* and heirs according to the " promise *."

2. Mr. Galloway objects, that *the two witnesses* cannot be *those who protested against the corruptions of Popery* during *the* 1260 *years,* because *they* were to *prophesy* in sackcloth; whereas *none of the reformers* ever pretended to *the gift of prophesy,* but contented themselves with being merely *preachers* of God's word. In making this objection, Mr. Galloway seems to have forgotten, that in the New Testament *prophesying* is not unfrequently used as a mere synonym of *preaching* or *expounding* †. *The*

* Gal. iii. 16, 23, 26, 28, 29.

† See the whole of 1 Corinth. xiv. upon which Mr. Cruden very justly remarks, " This term *(prophesying)* is used by St. " Paul for *explaining Scripture, preaching,* or *speaking to the* " *Church in public.*" See also 1 Corinth. xi. 4, 5—1 Thess. v. 20 (which the margin of the Bible refers to 1 Corinth. xiv.), and Rom. xii. 6. The use of the word in this sense probably originated from the frequent appeals made by the primitive teachers to the prophets who had prophesied of Christ. See Acts ii. 14—37. iii. 18. iv. 10—13, 25—28. vii. 2—54. xxiv. 14. xxvi. 6—27. and xxviii. 23. See also the grounds of our Lord's own discourse with the two disciples at Emmaus. Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 27. and his subsequent address to the eleven and those that were with them. Ver. 44, 45, 46.

prophesying

prophesying therefore of the two witnesses is nothing more than *their zealous avowal of the principles of the Gospel; their shutting of heaven,* so that it *rain* not in the days of their prophecy, is *the shutting up the temple* or *spiritual Church,* so that *the dew of God's word and spirit* should not descend upon the apostate inhabitants of the *Roman earth* *; and *their power of smiting the earth with diverse plagues* means, *that all the various plagues denounced in the Apocalypse, blood, slaughter, and desolation, should, in the course of God's just judgments, be the consequence of men's slighting the warning voice of his two mystical prophets.* Not that it was *their* wish to shut up *heaven,* or to call down the vengeance of the Almighty upon *earth; their* desire was to preach repentance and the forgiveness of sins: *the fire of God's wrath* would never have proceeded out of their mouth; they never would have had occasion to denounce his righteous indignation against sin; if *they of the Apostasy* would have reformed them-

* "*Rain,*" says Sir Isaac Newton, "if not immoderate, and "*dew,* and *living water,* are put for *the graces and doctrines of the* "*Spirit;* and *the defect of rain,* for *spiritual barrenness.*" (Observ. on Dan. and Rev. p. 19.) *Heaven,* or *the temple,* or *the spiritual Church,* is shut at the commencement of *the* 1260 *days* when *the witnesses* begin to prophesy in sackcloth: and it is afterwards opened again at the sounding of *the seventh trumpet* and immediately before the commencement of *the seven vials* (Rev. xi. 15, 19. xv. 5—8.). *The* 1260 *days* however not having then expired, we are told, that, open as it was, no man could enter into it until the plagues of *the vials* were accomplished, or, in other words, until the expiration of *the* 1260 *days.*

selves,

selves, instead of hurting or persecuting *the two witnesses*. When it is said therefore, that *they have power to shut heaven, to turn the waters into blood, to smite the earth with plagues*, and *to dart from their mouth consuming fire*; these expressions must all be understood, not in a *causal*, but in a *consequential*, sense: for the commission, given to *the two figurative prophets*, is, in point of its proper mode of interpretation, exactly analogous to the charge which God delivered to Isaiah: "*Make* the "heart of this people fat, and *make* their ears heavy, "and *shut* their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, "and hear with their ears, and understand with "their heart, and convert, and be healed*." In perfect strictness of speech, Isaiah was no more able to inflict the plague of spiritual stupidity; than *the two prophets* of the Apocalypse were, that of spiritual barrenness and natural calamities. Both the passages must be explained exactly upon the same principle: the judgments, which *these prophets* were severally impowered to inflict, were not *caused* by them as *active agents*, but were *the consequence of their ministry being slighted*. In this sense we are authorised by inspired authority to interpret the charge given to Isaiah †: consequently, by a parity of reasoning, we are at liberty to explain the powers committed to *the two apocalyptic prophets*, in a similar manner ‡.

3. It

* Isaiah vi. 10.

† See Matt. xiii. 15. and Acts xxviii. 27.

‡ It is very justly remarked by Bp. Newton, when commenting

3. It is not unworthy of remark, that *the two witnesses* are described as having only *one mouth* *. This circumstance at once shews that they are *mystical*, not *literal*, characters; and serves to demonstrate the propriety of the foregoing explanation. The *pre-Christian* and *the post-Christian Church*, forming jointly *the Church-general*, have but *one mouth*, testifying and declaring the same simple road to salvation through the alone sacrifice of Christ. In the strictly scriptural words of the Anglican church already cited, "although the ancient patriarchs were not named *Christian men*, "yet was it a Christian faith that they had; for "they looked for all benefits of God the Father, "through the merits of his Son Jesu Christ, as we "do now. This difference is between them and us, "that they looked when Christ *should* come, and "we be in the time when he *is* come †."

III. "And, when they shall draw near to the "close of their testimony ‡, the beast, that ascendeth

ing upon this very passage, that "in Scripture language the "prophets are often said to *do* those things, which they *declare* "and *foretell*."

* Rev. xi. 5.

† The same sound doctrine is set forth in the article; "The "Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the "Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind "by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, "being both God and man." Thus have *the two witnesses* only *one mouth*, with which they unanimously protest against the host of mediators venerated by *them of the Apostasy*.

‡ Such is certainly the proper translation of the Aorist τελεσωσι,

" eth out of the abyss shall make war against them,
" and shall overcome them, and kill them. And
" their dead bodies shall lie in the broad street of
" the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom
" and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.
" And they of the people and kindreds and tongues
" and nations shall see their dead bodies three days
" and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies
" to be put in graves. And they, that dwell upon
" the earth, shall rejoice over them, and make
" merry, and shall send gifts one to another; be-
" cause these two prophets tormented them that
" dwelt on the earth. And after three days and
" an half the spirit of life from God entered into
" them; and they stood upon their feet: and great
" fear fell upon them which saw them. And they
" heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto
" them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to
" heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld
" them."

τελεσωσι. The subjunctive mood of the first Aorist generally bears a kind of future signification: and the context amply shews, that such *must* be its meaning in the present instance. *The witnesses* were to prophesy during *the whole* 1260 *years*, which are commensurate with *the two first woe-trumpets and the greatest part of the third.* At the time of this event, they were only under *the second woe-trumpet* (See Rev. xi. 7—12. and 14, 15.): consequently they could not *have finished* their testimony, as our translation erroneously represents them to have done; because they were to *continue prophesying* to the *very end of the* 1260 *years.* " Cum *finituri sint* testimonium suum (sic enim ἵνα τελεσωσι vertendum, non de præterito, *cum finierint*). Mede's Comment. Apoc. in loc.

1. Prophecy,

1. Prophecy, as it might be naturally expected, dwells only upon great and prominent circumstances; were it otherwise constructed, the whole world could not contain the volumes, which it would occupy. We must inquire therefore, what circumstance in the history of *the two witnesses* is of a sufficiently definite nature, that is to say, differs sufficiently from all other persecutions which they underwent, to occasion it to be described under the allegory of *their being put to death.*

(1.) In prosecuting this inquiry, the first point necessary to be considered is *the nature of the death,* which *the two witnesses* are represented as undergoing. In the language of prophecy, *to die* signifies *to cease to be whatever a person was before such death**. *The death of the witnesses* therefore denotes *their ceasing to be witnesses:* and, since this *death* is manifestly a *violent* one, since they are said to have been *slain* by *the beast;* the import of the prediction is, that the power symbolized by *the beast*

* "*Mori* ea notione dicitur, qui in quocunque statu consti-
" tutus, sive Politico sive Ecclesiastico, seu quovis alio, desinit
" esse quod fuit; unde et occîdit qui tali morte quemquam
" afficit" (Mede's Comment. Apoc. in myst. duor. test.). This excellent definition of Mr. Mede's shews the propriety of the distinction which I have made between *the death of the third part of men or the eastern Roman empire,* and *the death of the Roman beast. Death* in both cases signifies *the causing them to cease to be what they were before.* Hence *the death of a community* is *the causing a community to cease from existing as a community;* and *the death of a beast* is *the causing a beast or idolatrous empire to cease from existing as a beast or idolatrous empire.*

should

should forcibly cause *the witnesses* to desist from bearing their testimony, thus inflicting upon them what may be termed *a theological death.*

(2.) The next point to be considered is *the time when* they are slain. This time is said to be, when they are *drawing near* to the close of their prophesying, but *before* the sounding of *the seventh trumpet**. Now to such a chronological description, I conceive the remarkable era of *the reformation* to answer very exactly, as I shall presently point out at large.

To this era I have already thought myself warranted in peculiarly referring *the second persecution* of *the men of understanding*, which Daniel describes as taking place *previous* to the revelation of *the atheistical king:* and to this era I now think myself equally warranted in looking for an accomplishment of the present prophecy.

(3.) The third point to be considered is *the foe, by whom* they are slain. He is styled *the beast of the abyss:* and *this beast* will be found upon examination, to be *the first beast* of the Apocalypse, or *the beast with seven heads and ten horns*†. In short, as it shall be fully shewn hereafter, he is the same as Daniel's *fourth beast*, or *the Roman empire;* and he slays *the witnesses* by the instrumentality of his *last head*‡. Before we can understand therefore

* See Rev. xi. 7—12, 15.

† Compare Rev. xi. 7. with Rev. xiii. 1. and xvii. 7, 8.

‡ Or to speak more accurately *his septimo-octave head.* "The

"seven

fore the import of the prediction relative to *the death of the witnesses*, which is to take place towards the close of *the* 1260 *years* and under *the second woe-trumpet*, we must learn *what form of Roman government* is intended by *the last head of the beast*. This matter however must be reserved for future discussion, when the whole character of *the beast* is considered at large. For the present then, in order that the thread of the prophecy relative to *the witnesses* may be preserved unbroken, I must be allowed to assume, that *this last head* is not *the Papacy*, as Mr. Mede and Bp. Newton suppose, but *the line of the Gothic Emperors of the West*; the first of whom was Charlemagne, and whose representative at the time of *the Reformation* was Charles the fifth.

2. These matters being premised, let us proceed to consult history.

" seven heads are seven kings—The beast, that was, and is " not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven" (Rev. xvii. 9, 10, 11.). Thus it appears, that St. John identifies even *the whole beast* with *his last head*, on account of the vast power which *this last head* was destined at its first rise to possess: consequently, when he asserts, that *the beast* should make war upon *the witnesses*, since the chronology of the prophecy shews that *the beast* should do this under *his last head*, and since St. John identifies *the beast* with *his last head*, it is manifest that this war was to be undertaken by *the last head of the beast*. The same remark applies to the last war of *the beast*, *the false prophet*, and *the kings of the earth*, against *the Lamb*. *The beast* here, as in the former instance, means *the last head of the beast*; and *the kings of the earth* or *Roman empire*, *those sovereigns* who are in communion with *the false prophet*. This subject will be fully discussed hereafter.

(1.) In

(1.) In *the years* 1530, 1531, 1535, and 1537, the protestant German princes associated themselves together, for the defence of their religion, in what was called *the league of Smalcalde*. This formidable combination roused the jealousy of the Emperor and the Pope; nor were the proceedings of the council of Trent less calculated to excite the fears of the confederates. The deposition and excommunication of the Archbishop of Cologne, on the avowed ground of the countenance which he had given to the Lutherans, brought affairs however more rapidly to a crisis than Charles had intended. "By a long series of artifice and fallacy, he had "gained so much time, that his measures, though "not altogether ripe for execution, were in great "forwardness. The Pope, by his proceedings "against the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the "decrees of the council, had precipitated matters "into such a situation, as rendered a breach be-"tween the Emperor and the protestants almost "unavoidable. Charles had therefore no choice "left him, but either to take part with them in "overturning what the see of Rome had deter-"mined, or to support the authority of the church "openly by force of arms. Nor did the Pope "think it enough to have brought the Emperor "under a necessity of acting; he pressed him to "begin his operations immediately*, and to carry "them on with such vigour as could not fail of se-"curing success †."

* See Rev. xiii. 11.

† Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 67.

Both parties had recourse to arms; but the policy of the Emperor prevailed over the disunion of the protestants. At the close of *the year* 1546, "the "confederacy, lately so powerful as to shake the "imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was dissolved "in the space of a few weeks; hardly any member "of that formidable combination now remaining in "arms, but the Elector of Saxony and the Land-"grave of Hesse, to whom the Emperor, having "from the beginning marked them out as victims "of his vengeance, was at no pains to offer terms "of reconciliation *."

He was prevented however from attacking them immediately by a dread of the hostile intentions of the French king; but the death of his rival, on *the last day of March* 1547, shortly left him at liberty to prosecute his scheme of crushing the Reformation. As soon as he heard of Francis's demise, he began his march against the Elector; and, on *the 24th of April*, totally routed and took him prisoner, in the decisive battle of Muhlberg. The Landgrave was now left alone to maintain the protestant cause; but ere long he likewise was compelled to submit, and by a dishonourable stratagem was seized and confined by the Emperor.

Thus was the Smalcaldic league completely broken; but as yet *the witnesses* were not *slain*, or *compelled to desist from bearing their testimony*. Though Charles had signed a treaty with the Pope, in which the extirpation of heresy was explicitly de-

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 101, 102.

clared

clared to be the object of the war, he "still endea-
"voured to persuade the Germans that he had no
"design to abridge their religious liberty, but that
"he aimed only at vindicating his own authority,
"and repressing the insolence of such as had en-
"croached upon it. With this view, he wrote
"circular letters, in the same strain with his an-
"swer to the deputies at Ratisbon, to most of the
"free cities, and to several of the princes who had
"embraced the protestant doctrines. In these he
"complained loudly, but in general terms, of the
"contempt into which the imperial dignity had
"fallen, and of the presumptuous as well as disor-
"derly behaviour of some members of the empire.
"He declared that he took arms, not in a religious,
"but in a civil, quarrel; not to oppress any who
"continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects,
"but to humble the arrogance of such as had
"thrown off all sense of that subordination in
"which they were placed under him as head of the
"Germanic body*." And, after the dissolution of the confederacy, previous to his attacking the Elector of Saxony, he still adhered to the same policy. Though the protestant states and princes were constrained to implore mercy in the humble posture of supplicants, were subjected to heavy fines, were obliged to renounce the league of Smalcalde, and were compelled to give up their artillery to the Emperor and to admit garrisons into

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 73, 74.

their principal cities; yet, "amidst the great variety "of articles dictated by Charles on this occasion, "he, in conformity to his original plan, took care "that nothing relating to religion should be in- "serted *."

But, when the two heads of the protestants, the Elector and the Landgrave, were become his prisoners, it was not long ere he threw off the mask. He began by holding a diet at Augsburg, "in order "to compose finally the controversies with regard "to religion, which had so long disturbed the em- "pire. He durst not however trust the determina- "tion of a matter so interesting to the free suffrage "of the Germans, broken as their minds now were "to subjection. He entered the city at the head "of his Spanish troops, and assigned them quarters "there. The rest of his soldiers he cantoned in "the adjacent villages; so that the members of the "diet, while they carried on their deliberations, "were surrounded by the same army which had "overcome their countrymen. Immediately after "his public entry, Charles gave a proof of the vio- "lence with which he intended to proceed. He "took possession by force of the cathedral, toge- "ther with one of the principal churches; and his "priests, having by various ceremonies purified "them from the pollution with which they supposed "the unhallowed ministrations of the protestants "to have defiled them, re-established with great "pomp the rites of the Romish worship.

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 102.

"The

" The Emperor, in the speech with which he " opened the meeting, called their attention imme- " diately to that point, which seemed chiefly to " merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of " the religious dissensions which had arisen in " Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied " endeavours to procure a general council, which " alone could provide a remedy adequate to those " evils; he exhorted them to recognize its authority, " and to acquiesce in the decisions of an assembly " to which they had originally appealed, as having " the sole right of judgment in the case *."

But the council of Trent, to which Charles wished them to refer all their controversies, had by this time undergone a violent change. A schism had taken place in it, part of the members voting that it should be translated to Bologna, while those in the imperial interest remained at Trent. The two factions vehemently inveighed against each other; and Charles, having vainly employed all his interest to procure the return of the Council to Trent, at length formally protested against that holden at Bologna.

Still however the Emperor was no less determined to silence the protestants. Unable to effect this by the instrumentality of a council, he caused to be prepared by his own authority a system, which should serve as a general rule of faith in Germany until a council could be convocated, and which thence acquired the appellation of *the Interim*,

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 153, 154.

" This

" This system was compiled by Pflug, Helding, and " Agricola; of whom the two former were dignita- " ries in the Romish church, but remarkable for " their pacific and healing spirit; the last was a " protestant divine, suspected, not without reason, " of having been gained by bribes and promises, to " betray or mislead his party on this occasion. The " articles presented to the diet of Ratisbon in *the* " *year* 1541, in order to reconcile the contending " parties, served as a model for the present work. " But, as the Emperor's situation was much " changed since that time, and he found it no " longer necessary to manage the Protestants " with the same delicacy as at that juncture, the " concessions in their favour were not now so nume- " rous, nor did they extend to points of so much " consequence. The treaties contained a complete " system of theology, conformable in almost every " article to the tenets of the Romish church, though " expressed, for the most part, in the softest words, " or in scriptural phrases, or in terms of studied " ambiguity. Every doctrine however, peculiar to " popery, was retained, and the observation of all " the rites, which the protestants condemned, as in- " ventions of men introduced into the worship of " God, was enjoined. With regard to two points " only, some relaxation in the rigour of opinion, as " well as some latitude in practice, were admitted. " Such ecclesiastics as had married, and would not " put away their wives, were allowed nevertheless " to perform all the functions of their sacred office;

" and

" and those provinces, which had been accustomed
" to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in
" the sacrament of the Lord's supper, were still in-
" dulged in the privilege of receiving both. Even
" these were declared to be concessions for the sake
" of peace, and granted only for a season in com-
" pliance with the weakness or prejudices of their
" countrymen.

" This system of doctrine the Emperor presented
" to the diet, on *the 15th of May* 1548, with a
" pompous declaration of his sincere intention to
" re-establish tranquillity and order in the church,
" as well as of his hopes that their adopting these
" regulations would contribute greatly to bring
" about that desirable event. It was read in the
" presence of the diet, according to form. As soon
" as it was finished, the Archbishop of Mentz, presi-
" dent of the electoral college, rose up hastily, and,
" having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied
" and pious endeavours in order to restore peace
" to the church, he, in the name of the diet, signi-
" fied their approbation of the system of doctrine
" which had been read, together with their resolu-
" tion of conforming to it in every particular. The
" whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so
" unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as
" at the Elector's presumption in pretending to de-
" liver the sense of the diet upon a point which had
" not hitherto been the subject of consultation or
" debate. But not one member had the courage
" to contradict what the Elector had said; some

" being

" being overawed by fear, others remaining silent
" through complaisance. The Emperor held the
" Archbishop's declaration to be a full constitutional
" ratification of *the Interim*, and prepared to en-
" force the observance of it as a decree of the em-
" pire*."

That such a system could meet with the approbation of the protestants, was not to be expected; such of them therefore as refused to adopt it, were compelled by force. The great protestant princes of the empire, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, on whom the Emperor had conferred the electorate of Saxony, yielded implicit obedience: the captive Landgrave of Hesse, eager to procure his freedom, offered not only to approve of *the Interim*, but to submit unreservedly to Charles in every other particular: but in the imperial cities he met with a very violent opposition. Force however soon constrained these small commonwealths to acquiesce. The Emperor's first attempt was upon Augsburg. Having seized the gates with his troops, he abolished the government of the city, and conferred the future administration of it upon a small number of persons, each of whom took an oath to observe *the Interim*. " An act of
" power, so unprecedented as well as arbitrary,
" gave general disgust; but, as they durst not
" venture upon resistance, they were obliged to
" submit in silence. From Augsburg, in which

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 163, 164, 165.

" he

" he left a garrison, he proceeded to Ulm; and, " new modelling its government with the same vio- " lent hand, he seized such of their pastors as re- " fused to subscribe *the Interim*, committed them " to prison, and at his departure carried them along " with him in chains. By this severity he not only " secured the reception of *the Interim* in two of the " most powerful cities, but gave warning to the rest " what such as continued refractory had to expect. " The effect of the example was as great as he could " have wished; and many towns, in order to save " themselves from the like treatment, found it ne- " cessary to comply with what he enjoined. This " obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, " produced no change in the sentiments of the " Germans, and extended no farther than to make " them conform so far to what he required, as was " barely sufficient to screen them from punishment. " The protestant preachers accompanied those re- " ligious rites, the observation of which *the Interim* " prescribed, with such an explication of their ten- " dency, as served rather to confirm than to remove " the scruples of their hearers, with regard to them. " The people, many of whom had grown up to ma- " ture years since the establishment of the reform- " ed religion, and had never known any other form " of public worship, beheld the pompous pageantry " of the popish service with contempt or horror; " and in most places the Romish ecclesiastics, who " returned to take possession of their churches, " could hardly be protected from insult, or their

" ministrations from interruption. Thus, notwith-
" standing the apparent compliance of so many ci-
" ties, the inhabitants, being accustomed to free-
" dom, submitted with reluctance to the power
" which now oppressed them. Their understand-
" ing, as well as inclination, revolted against the
" doctrines and ceremonies imposed on them; and,
" though for the present they concealed their disgust
" and resentment, it was evident that these passions
" could not always be kept under restraint, but
" would break out at last in effects proportioned
" to their violence *."

Such was the manner in which Charles " bent " the stubborn spirit of the Germans to general " submission." Strasburg and Constance experienced the same fate as Augsburg and Ulm; and last of all, after enduring the miseries of a long-protracted siege, Magdeburg was compelled to surrender, and to receive *the Interim* as a system of faith.

(2.) To apply these historical facts to prophecy: since *the death of the witnesses* denotes *their ceasing to be witnesses*, since *the instrument of inflicting this death* is *the Roman beast under his last or Gothico-imperial head*, and since *the representative of this head at the era of the reformation* (to which the terms of the prophecy seem most naturally to direct us) was *Charles the fifth*; I conceive, that

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 172, 173. See also p. 202, 203, 204.

the

the death of the witnesses, which took place subsequent to and in consequence of *the beast's* waging war against them, was effected by *their constrained reception of the Interim*. For, by receiving such a system, *they ceased for a time to be witnesses of the everlasting Gospel*; or, in the figured language of prophecy, *they were slain*. But the diet were compelled to give their sanction to *the Interim on the 15th of May* 1548: from this time therefore, or rather perhaps from the time when the Emperor, after the dissolution of the diet, ordered *the Interim* to be published and enforced, which happened somewhat later *, *the three days and a half*, during which *the witnesses* were to lie dead, must be computed †.

3. *The*

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 166.

† Brightman refers this prophecy to the same period with myself, but with a very important difference in the particular application of it. He thinks, that *the witnesses* were slain in the battle of Muhlberg, which, as we have seen, was fought on *the 24th of April* 1547; and that they were raised from the dead, and stood again upon their feet at Magdeburg, when, about *three years and a half* after the battle of Muhlberg, the Magdeburghers took up arms in opposition to *the Interim*.

I had once adopted this opinion; but a more mature consideration convinces me that it is erroneous. Although the protestants were completely routed at Muhlberg, *the witnesses* cannot, in the prophetic sense of the words, be said to have been *slain*, because they had not *ceased to be witnesses*. They did not cease to bear their testimony, until they were constrained to accept *the Interim*. Then, and not till then, were they slain. So again: *the revival of the witnesses, their standing upon their feet,* and

3. *The witnesses* were now prophetically dead: but they were not long to continue so; their tenets were neither forgotten, nor wholly removed out of sight, as is the case when a dead body is hidden in the grave: hence it is said, that, although slain themselves, their remains were not buried *.

(1.) I have already stated *the time when*, and *the power by which*, they were to be slain; it will now be proper to consider *the place where* their dead bodies were thus exposed. This was *the broad street of the great city*, spiritually called *Sodom and Egypt*, where also our Lord was crucified. The excellent Bp. Newton, and the learned Mr. Mann of the Charter-house, whom he cites, needlessly perplex themselves with elaborately shewing, how *the city of Rome* may be said to be *the city where our Lord was crucified*. *The great city*, however, *the mystic Babylon*, which throughout the Apocalypse is represented in constant and direct opposition to *the holy city* or *the Church*, is certainly not *the city*, but *the*

and *the great fear of their enemies*, certainly describe a complete change in the state of *the witnesses*, a commencement of prosperity succeeding their former depressed condition. But, when the Magdeburgers took up arms, they took them up unsuccessfully, being compelled, after a long siege, to surrender their city and to receive *the Interim*.

* Possibly this expression may covertly allude to the Emperor's carrying about with him in triumph those poor remains of the vanquished protestants, the Elector and the Landgrave, and exposing them every where as a spectacle to the Germans. See Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 135, 173.

empire,

empire, of Rome: whence a street of this great city* is *a kingdom or province of the empire,* considered as a whole; and *a tenth part of the city,* as mentioned in the thirteenth verse of the present chapter, is not *a tenth part of the literal city of Rome,* but *a tenth part of the Roman empire,* and consequently is precisely equivalent to *one of the ten horns* or *kingdoms* of *the beast.* This being the case, there is no need to seek for a *spiritual* sense, in which our Lord may be said to have been crucified in *the great city:* he *literally* suffered within its precincts; for he was put to death in Palestine, at that time *a province* of *the Roman empire*†. This obvious exposition will shew

* *The temporal Babylon* is *the temporal empire of Rome;* the *spiritual Babylon* is *the spiritual empire of the Roman pontiff.*

† "*Urbs magna* 1. Sodoma; 2. Ægyptus. Hinc discimus "*urbem magnam* ad *totum bestiæ regnum* extendi, nam Ægyptus "non *civitas* erat, sed *regnum.* 3. Interfectrix Christi. Hinc "constat *Romam* hoc loco non intelligi. Christus autem *in* "*Romana urbe* crucifixus dicitur, i. e. *in ejus finibus et imperio;* "in *urbis platea,* h. e. intra *ditionem Romanam,* sive in *provincia* "*ipsius.*" Pol. Synop. in loc.

"Hæc *urbs magna* est *tota illa ditio cujus est Roma metropolis:* "quo sensu *decima par urbis* cadit, infra ver. 13. *Platea* est "*pars aliqua Romanæ ditionis,* in qua spectaculum hoc visendum "exhibetur, cujus gaudium se diffundit per totum imperium. "*Urbs autem ipsa magna* una cum *metropoli sua* in reliquo versu "describitur, idque duobus disertis nominibus, et adjuncta si- "mul insigni nota, nequis in orbe forsan erraret—Primum no- "men est *Sodoma*—Secundum nomen est *Ægyptus,* non *urbs ali-* "*qua,* qualis Sodoma, sed *integra regio et provincia.* Unde hoc "nomen non est proprium *ipsius metropolis,* sed *totius ejus*

"*ditionis*

shew the great accuracy of the prophecy now under consideration. *The two mystic witnesses* were not,

"*ditionis* commune." Apoc. Apoc. Fol. 174, 175. See also Fol. 258.

"*The great city* is *that city which reigneth over the kings of the* "*earth*, or *Rome*, the empress of the world. *Streets of the great* "*city* are *its public places throughout its dominion*; for *the great* "*city* is not considered so much in its buildings, as a seat of "empire. *It is Rome and the Roman empire*, says the Bp. of "Meaux; and, taking *the great city* for *Rome and its empire*, "he adds, *It is literally true, that Jesus Christ was crucified there,* "*even by the Roman power.* And it is moreover true, that the "same Rome, which crucified Christ in person, crucified him "also every day in his members. The general meaning of this "passage is well expressed by Mr. Daubuz: *The dead bodies of* "*the witnesses shall lie throughout the extent, in the most conspi-* "*cuous places, or the chief and principal parts of the Antichristian* "*jurisdiction* (Lowman's Paraph. in loc.). Had Mr. Daubuz said singularly *the conspicuous place*, as the Apostle does, instead of expressing himself plurally, I should have had nothing to object.

"In *the street of the great city*, i. e. in Bohemia, *one street* of "*the papal dominions*, or *the great city Rome*, in a large sense" (Fleming's Apoc. Key, p. 41.). I do not think *Bohemia* to be the street intended; but Mr. Fleming's *mode* of interpretation is the same as my own.

"It is probable *the whole Roman empire* may be here repre-"sented, as *one idolatrous and impure city*; as elsewhere *the* "*Church of Christ* is represented by *one pure holy and glorious* "*city*" (Doddridge's Paraph. in loc.). This argument from analogy is an excellent one.

"It is a truth, which must be held as certain, being one of the "keys of the Revelation, that *the city, the great city*, signifies in this "book, not *Rome alone*, but *Rome in conjunction with its empire:* "the name of *this great city* is *Babylon*—This being supposed and "proved,

not, at the precise time alluded to by St. John, to lie dead and unburied throughout *the whole of the great city;* but only, as he expressly informs us, *in one particular street of it* *, or rather in *that particular street of it which was the public forum or the broad street of the allegorical city* †. Now,

" proved, that *the city* is *the whole Babylonish and Antichristian* " *empire*, it must be remembered that *this empire of Antichrist* is " made up of *ten kingdoms* and of *ten kings*, who must give their " power to *the beast*. *A tenth part of the city fell;* that is, *one of* " *these ten kingdoms* which make up *the great city, the Babylonish* " *empire*, shall forsake it—Now what is *this tenth part of the city* " which shall fall? In my opinion, we cannot doubt that it is " *France—The kings*, who yet remain under *the empire of Rome*, " must break with her, leave her solitary and desolate. But " who must begin this last revolt? It is most probable that " *France* shall—Seeing *the tenth part of the city*, which must fall, " is *France*, this gives me some hopes that *the death of the two wit-* " *nesses* hath a particular relation to this kingdom. It is *the* " *street or place of this city;* that is, *the most conspicuous and* " *eminent part of it*" (Jurieu's Accomp. of the Script. Proph. Part II. p. 261—267.). The reader will perceive the points wherein I differ from M. Jurieu: the passage is cited simply to shew what he understood by *the great city*.

" *Civitatem illam magnam*, quæ regnum gerit in reges terræ, " non tam *urbem quampiam moenibus cinctam* (quanquam a tali, " ceu acropoli quadam, originem ducere potest), quam *multi-* " *tudinem sociatam per caput aut capita*, utentem protestate impe- " randi, tanquam jure metropoleos ostendimus. Prophetæ me- " taphoras et ænigmata amánt. Ita *civitas* est *quasi civitas;* " *forum, quasi forum*. Ita Apoc. x. 8. *Civitas magna*, ubi " Christus crucifixus est, *Romanam ditionem* notat." Heidegger. Myst. Bab. Mag. Tom. i. p. 219.

* In una platearum. Pol. Synop. in loc.

† Επι της πλατειας. " In the broad place." Archdeacon Woodhouse.

since

since their persecutor upon this occasion was to be *the beast under his last head*, the broad street of the city, where they were to lie unburied, must evidently be that principal region of the empire, which should be subject to the immediate jurisdiction of *the last head*, in its special capacity *of* the *last head*. But to this description no region of the empire will answer, except *Germany* alone. For, when *the papal empire* is considered as *a great city*, and *the different kingdoms* of which it is composed as *so many streets*; the allegory absolutely requires us to esteem *that region of the empire, which was specially subject to its acknowledged head*, as *the principal street or forum of the city*. To this it may be added, that the great number of almost independent princes, who jointly constituted the Germanic body, gives a peculiar propriety to the imagery which exhibits *Germany* as *a crowded and bustling forum*. If then there be any weight in the preceding remarks, we are *compelled* to consider *Germany* as the region in which the slaughter of *the witnesses* was to take place; and consequently we have an additional reason for referring the prophecy to the history of the Smalcaldic confederates.

(2.) St. John informs us, that the dead bodies of *the witnesses* were to lie unburied in this broad street of the city precisely *three days and a half*: when they should suddenly come to life again, stand firmly upon their feet, and afterwards ascend triumphantly to heaven, in spite of the machinations of their enemies.

The

The witnesses, as we have seen, were slain by *the beast*, when they were compelled to acknowledge *the Interim* as their rule of faith. The cause of the Reformation appeared now to be irretrievably ruined in Germany. The mass was restored. Protestantism was in a manner suppressed. The reformed ministers were enjoined to teach nothing concerning the controverted points, that was contrary to the tenets of the Romish church; and were even prohibited to preach for the future in any province of the empire. "The people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates, whom they detested as usurpers*." In short, to adopt the language of prophecy, they that dwelt upon *the Roman earth*, the papists of the various tongues and nations into which *the great city* had been divided by the incursions of the Goths, rejoiced over *the two prophets* that tormented them by their troublesome admonitions, and made merry, and sent gifts one to another. But this joy was soon converted into consternation. The sure word of prophecy had declared that it should last only *three years and a half*.

Now, if we compute *three years and a half* from *the 15th of May* 1548, or rather from about *the end of May* or *the beginning of June* when *the Interim* was published, we shall be brought to *December* in

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 203.

the year 1551. Accordingly, at this time the affairs of the protestants took a complete turn; life entered into *the witnesses*, and they again stood upon their feet. On *the 3d of November*, the city of Magdeburg, which had the honour of submitting last to *the Interim*, was compelled to surrender and to receive it as a system of faith. But, on *the preceding 5th of October*, Maurice of Saxony had privately concluded a treaty with the King of France, preparatory to his openly declaring against the Emperor. All things being now arranged by this able prince, and *the three prophetic years and a half* having fully expired, he commenced his operations in *the December following*, by sending a solemn embassy to the Emperor, in his own name and in that of the Elector of Brandenburg, demanding the release of the Landgrave of Hesse. "The Elector Palatine, "the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Dukes of Mecklen- "burg, the Duke of Deuxponts, the Marquis of "Brandenburg Bareith, and the Marquis of Baden, "by their ambassadors, concurred with them in "their suit. Letters were likewise delivered to the "same effect from the King of Denmark, the Duke "of Bavaria, and the Dukes of Lunenburg*."

This demand was refused. Maurice continued to amuse the Emperor during a short time longer; until at length, his preparations being completed, he joined his army, which amounted to 20,000 foot and 5000 horse, and put it immediately in motion. "At

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 220.

" the same time he published a manifesto, contain-
" ing his reasons for taking arms. These were three
" in number: that he might secure the protestant
" religion, which was threatened with immediate
" destruction; that he might maintain the consti-
" tution and laws of the empire, and save Germany
" fom being subjected to the dominion of an abso-
" lute monarch; and that he might deliver the
" Landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long
" and unjust imprisonment *.

" Maurice had now to act a part entirely new;
" but his flexible genius was capable of accommo-
" dating itself to every situation. The moment he
" took arms, he was bold and enterprising in the
" field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the
" cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards
" the upper Germany. All the towns in his way
" opened their gates to him. He reinstated the ma-
" gistrates whom the Emperor had deposed, and
" gave possession of the churches to the protestant
" ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his
" march to Augsburg; and, as the imperial garri-
" son, which was too inconsiderable to think of de-
" fending it, retired immediately, he took posses-
" sion of that great city, and made the same changes
" there as in the towns through which he had
" passed †."

Thus, after *three days and a half*, did the spirit of life enter into *the witnesses*, and they stood upon

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 225. † Ibid. p. 227.

their feet. Meanwhile great fear fell upon them that saw them. "No words can express the "Emperor's astonishment and consternation at "events so unexpected. He saw a great number of "the German princes in arms against him, and the "rest either ready to join them, or wishing success "to their enterprize; while he, through negligence "and credulity, which exposed him no less to scorn "than to danger, had neither made, nor was in a "condition to make, any effectual provision for "crushing his rebellious subjects. Part of his "Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary "against the Turks; the rest had marched back to "Italy upon occasion of the war in the dutchy of "Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had "been dismissed because he was not able to pay "them, or had entered into Maurice's service after "the siege of Magdeburg; and he remained at In-"spruck with a body of soldiers hardly strong "enough to guard his own person *."

In this perilous situation he placed all his hopes in negociating. Maurice, conscious of his own talents, and designing merely to amuse the Emperor, readily agreed to an interview with his brother Ferdinand, the King of the Romans, in the town of Lintz in Austria. The conference produced no accommodation: but Ferdinand, encouraged by his apparently pacific disposition, proposed a second interview at Passau on *the 26th of May;* when a

* Hist. of Charles V. vol iii. p. 227.

truce

truce should commence and continue to *the 10th of June*, in order to give them leisure for adjusting all the points in dispute.

Maurice readily assented: and, having rejoined his army on *the 9th of May*, since sixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce on *the 26th*, he put his troops in motion the next morning; and resolved to venture upon an enterprize, the success of which would be so decisive as to render the negociations at Passau extremely short, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. Accordingly, he marched directly at the head of his army towards Inspruck; and advanced with the most rapid motion, that could be given to so great a body of men. Such indeed was his rapidity, that he entered that town only a few hours after the Emperor and his attendants had quitted it. Charles "was informed of the approaching danger "late in the evening; and, knowing that nothing "could save him but a speedy flight, he instantly "left Inspruck without regarding the darkness of "the night or the violence of the rain which hap-"pened to fall at that time, and, notwithstanding "the debility occasioned by the gout, which ren-"dered him unable to bear any motion but that of "a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking "his way over the Alps by roads almost impassable. "His courtiers and attendants followed him with "equal precipitation, some of them on such horses "as they could hastily procure, many of them on

"foot,

" foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In this " miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which " Charles had appeared during the five preceding " years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived " at length with his dejected train at Villach in " Carinthia, and scarcely thought himself secure " even in that remote, inaccessible, corner*." Similar was the fear which likewise fell upon the other enemies of the protestants. " It was no sooner " known at Trent that Maurice had taken arms, " than a general consternation seized the fathers of " the council. The German prelates immediately " returned home, that they might provide for the " safety of their respective territories: the rest were " extremely impatient to be gone;" and the legate dismissed the assembly †.

4. *The witnesses* however were not only to stand again upon their feet, but afterwards to ascend into *heaven* in the very sight of their enemies. This *heaven* is doubtless only *a symbolical heaven;* and *the ascension of the witnesses into it* denotes simply *their formal recognition as an ecclesiastical body.* Hitherto they had only *stood upon their feet;* but now they were to *ascend triumphantly into heaven:* they were firmly to establish themselves, as *an acknowledged church,* in direct opposition to their enemies who beheld them, *the first beast* and his instigator *the second beast.*

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 232.

† Ibid. p. 233.

After

After the flight of the Emperor from Inspruck, "as there now remained only three days to the "commencement of the truce (with such nicety "had Maurice calculated his operations), he set "out for Passau, that he might meet Ferdinand "on the day appointed *." Here, in the presence of the Imperial ambassadors, the Duke of Bavaria, the Bishops of Saltzburgh and Aichstadt, the ministers of all the Electors, and the deputies from most of the considerable princes and free cities, he opened the negociation. After a long discourse, in which he explained the motives of his own conduct, he limited his demands, in the name of his associates, to three articles, agreeably to the manifesto which he had published when he took up arms: that the Landgrave of Hesse should immediately be set at liberty; that the grievances in the civil government of the Empire should be redressed; and that the Protestants should be allowed the public exercise of their religion without molestation. Firm and haughty as Charles was by nature, he found it necessary to bend, and signified his willingness to make concessions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. That prince, unwilling again to commit all to the doubtful issue of war, repaired forthwith to Passau, and signed the treaty of peace. Its chief articles were, that the Landgrave

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 233.

should

should be set at liberty; that a diet should be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most proper nnd effectual method of preventing for the future all disputes about religion; and that in the mean time, neither the Emperor nor any other prince should, upon any pretext whatever, offer injury or violence to such as adhered to the confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; that the Imperial chamber should administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with Papists to sit as judges in that court; and that, if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the Protestants should continue for ever in full force and vigour *. Afterwards, for the yet further security of the reformed religion, a diet was held at Augsburg; in which, on *the 25th* of *September* 1555, a recess was framed, approved of, and published with the usual formalities. The following are the chief articles which it contained: that such princes and cities, as have declared their approbation of the confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorizes, without interruption or molestation from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 247.

person

person whatsoever; that for the future no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the Popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states as receive the confession of Augsburg; and that the supreme civil power in every state shall have right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, and, if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove with all their effects whithersoever they shall please *.

"Such," to adopt the words of the historian, "was the memorable treaty of Passau, that overturned the vast fabric, in erecting which Charles had employed so many years and had exerted the utmost efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the imperial authority absolute and hereditary in his family; and established the Protestant church, which had hitherto subsisted precariously in Germany through connivance or by expedients, upon a firm and secure basis †."

5. The various other interpretations, which have been given of this remarkable prophecy, appear to me to have failed, partly from the paying too exclusive an attention to the allotted period of *three days and a half;* partly from not taking into

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 314.
† Ibid. p. 247.

the

the account those other parts of the prediction, which point out both *the time when, the place where,* and *the imperial head under which,* it was to receive its completion; and almost universally * from not stating rightly *the peculiar nature of the death of the witnesses.* This last I hold to be of the very first importance, because it seems necessarily to fix the application of the prophecy to the history of the Smalcaldic league. *The slaying of the witnesses* is not merely *a religious persecution;* but *the causing them to cease to be witnesses,* the compelling them to lay aside their distinguishing character of *witnesses.* In all other persecutions, they still continued to *exist;* they lost not their character of *witnesses;* they ceased not to *prophecy,* although it might be secretly and in sackcloth: but, by receiving *the Interim,* they

* I ought to observe, that, although Mr. Mede does not attempt to explain *the death of the witnesses,* believing it to be yet future; his idea of their *death,* if not *perfectly* accurate, is at least *very nearly* so. He supposes it to denote *the silencing of protestant ministers,* the causing them to cease to be public witnesses of the truth. "Testium in bello occubitus videbitur "esse illorum ab officio et statione, quam in ecclesia vi præ- "dicationis suæ reformata aliquantisper consecuti sunt, de- "turbatio et dejectio; sive ea cum morti corporali conjuncta "sit, sive secus: adeo ut vitam, qualem tum vixerant, pro- "pheticam deinceps non vivant, muniave ejus exerceant "amplius." Bp. Newton nearly follows Mr. Mede; and, like him, esteems the prophecy yet unaccomplished. Their view of *the death of the witnesses* seems to me defective, as not including the idea of *apostasy.* Mr. Butt's idea of that *death* is strictly accurate.

became

became *prophetically dead;* they *no longer* bore their testimony; they *ceased* to be what they had formerly been.

Several of these interpretations are mentioned by Bp. Newton—The prophecy in question has been applied, for instance, to *the council of Constance;* which sat about *three years and a half,* enacted many laws against pretended heretics, and condemned to the flames John Huss and Jerome of Prague. But these two martyrs were only *individuals:* they cannot with any propriety be termed *two candlesticks,* or *two churches:* they did not prophesy 1260 *years:* their death, being a *literal one,* does not answer to the definition of *the death of the witnesses,* which is an allegorical one: and, even if *bodily death by persecution* were intended (which certainly is not intended), still, when once literally slain, they were incapable of revivification; for it is a mere evasion of the plain words of St. John, to say, that they revived in their followers: consequently they cannot be *the two apocalyptic witnesses*—It has also been applied to *the French massacre of the protestants on the eve of St. Bartholomew in the year* 1572, *and the treaty of Henry the third with the Huguenots concluded on the* 14*th of May* 1576; whereby the Protestants about *three years and a half* after the massacre, were admitted to the free and open exercise of their religion. But this exposition will in no respect accord with the prophecy, except in the coincidence of *the three years and a half;*

for

for the protestants, massacred as they were, did not *die* in the sense of the prophecy; their persecution did not make them *cease* to be witnesses: and, even if it had done so, still the war would have been made upon them, not by *the beast under his last head*, as St. John assures us should be the case, but only by *one of his ten horns* or the French sovereign—It has likewise been applied by Jurieu to *the persecution of the French protestants after the revocation of the edict of Nantz*. But this pious author's exposition is not only liable to the same objections as the preceding one, but has since shared the fate of most *human* prophecies founded upon a *divine* prophecy. He ventured to foretell, that this should be the *last* persecution of the Church; that *the witnesses* should lie dead *three years and half* from *the year* 1685, when the edict was revoked; that *the Reformation* should then be established by royal authority throughout the kingdom; and that the whole country should renounce *Popery*, and embrace *Protestantism* Events have precluded the necessity of any other confutation *—

It

* This opinion of Jurieu's has, with some variations, been recently revived by Mr. Bicheno. He asserts, that *the two witnesses* represent *the advocates for religious truth and civil liberty;* that *the beast* which slays them, is *the second apocalyptic beast;* that *that second beast* is *the French monarchy from the time of Louis XIV;* that *the witnesses* were slain in *the year* 1685 by the revocation of the edict of Nantz; that *the three days and a half*, during which they lay dead, are what he styles

three

It has lastly been applied by Bp. Lloyd and Mr. Whiston to *the persecution of the Piedmontese protestants,*

three lunar days and a half, in other words, *three prophetic months and a half* or 105 *natural years;* and that at the end of *these* 105 *years* they revived and stood upon their feet by means of *the French revolution* in *the year* 1789.

I think him mistaken, for the following reasons—1. *The witnesses,* upon the principles of symbolical language, must be *two Churches: the advocates for religious truth and civil liberty* are not *two churches*—2. As *the death of the witnesses* means *their ceasing to be witnesses,* so *their revival* means *their re-assuming the character of witnesses.* But the French protestants neither ceased to be witnesses in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz; nor, if they had, could they be said to have re-assumed their character by an event, which threw the reins of the French Government into the hands of a set of the most unprincipled miscreants that ever disgraced any age or country. It is true, that some individuals among the French Protestants were compelled to apostatise to Popery; but, so far from this being so generally the case as to warrant our saying that they were figuratively slain as a body, about a million of them gave up their country rather than their religion, and at least 100,000 of them were murdered—3. By asserting that *the three days and a half* are *so many lunar days* or *months of years,* Mr. Bicheno violates both the *general* analogy of prophetic computation, and in a yet more striking manner the *particular* analogy of that used in the present prediction. It is first said, that the *witnesses* are to prophesy 1260 *days,* and afterwards it is said that they are to lie dead *three days and a half.* Now we can scarcely suppose, that St. John uses two entirely different modes of computation in the same prophecy; for, in fact, if he did, there could be no certainty in any numerical prediction: it must be left entirely to the arbitrary decision of a commentator to say whether *a prophetic day* means *a natural year,* or *a month*

of

protestants, which commenced at the latter end of *the year* 1686, and terminated in *June* 1690. But

of natural years; in other words, whether it means *one year* or 30 years. Mr. Bicheno himself allows however, that *the* 1260 *days* are 1260 *years*. If then *the* 1260 *days*, during which *the witnesses* prophesy, be 1260 *natural years*; we must, I think, necessarily conclude, unless we make St. John guilty of a most singular inconsistency, that *the three days and a half*, during which they lie dead, are *three natural years and a half* likewise. All that Mr. Bicheno says, respecting what he terms *the decorum of smybols*, seems to mé a mere gratuitous assumption. Had the apostle meant to intimate, that *the witnesses* should continue in a state of political death during 105 *years*, I can discover no symbolical impropriety in his saying that *their dead bodies should lie unburied* 105 *days*. Ezekiel, we know, represents *the long political death of the house of Israel* under the imagery of *dead bodies lying so long unburied that nothing remained of them but dry bones:* why then should Mr. Bicheno think it so great an impropriety, that the apostle should have said, that *the dead bodies of the witnesses lay unburied* 105 *days*, f he had intended 105 *years*?—4. But, even if none of these objections existed, still his scheme would not hold good, even upon his own principles. Let *the second apocalyptic beast* be what it may, it is not *that* beast which slays *the witnesses*, as Mr. Bicheno supposes, but *the first* or *ten-horned beast*. The reader will find this position amply proved in the course of a few pages, when I consider Mr. Galloway's hypothesis, who makes the same mistake as Mr. Bicheno in thinking that *the witnesses* are slain by *the second apocalyptic beast*, though he supposes that *beast* to be *republican France*. Signs of the Times. Part i. p. 17—37.

This subject is further considered in my answer to Mr. Bicheno. I must confess, that his reply to the preceding strictures does not satisfy me; I still think his hypothesis untenable. He acknowledges, that *the beast which slays the witnesses* is not *the second apocalyptic beast;* yet he contends, that the mistake does not affect his argument.

Mr.

But here again the very same objections occur; *the witnesses* were never prophetically slain by their persecution in Piedmont; and this persecution was carried on against them by their sovereign *the Duke of Savoy*, not by *the beast under his last head*—In short, I cannot find that *the witnesses* were ever constrained to cease to be *witnesses*, with every circumstance which the prophecy requires, except at the era of the Smalcaldic league. All other interpretations, to say nothing of minor objections, fail in a point *absolutely* essential. They represent *the witnesses* as being slain; when in the prophetic sense of *death*, they were *not* slain.

6. Bp. Newton, like Jurieu, thinks, that *the war of*

Mr. Butt, like Mr. Bicheno, refers *the slaughter of the witnesses* to the revocation of the edict of Nantz, though with some variations which certainly make his scheme much less objectionable. He thinks, that *the Waldenses* and *Albigenses* are most eminently to be understood by *the two witnesses:* that the remains of these two ancient churches were slain in *April* 1685 by the revocation of the edict of Nantz: that they revived in *October* 1688, by taking refuge in England with the prince of Orange, afterwards William III: and that *the great earthquake* is *the revolution in England.* Notes on the Apoc. Part ii.

In addition to the other objections, which may be made to this scheme in common with those of M. Jurieu and Mr. Bicheno, it may be observed, that Mr. Butt considers *the witnesses* as being slain in *one street* of the city, and as reviving in *another:* whereas St. John certainly represents them, as being slain, as lying dead, and as reviving, in *one and the same street;* that street in short, which he styles *the broad street* or *forum.*

the

the beast against the two witnesses is to be the *last* persecution of the Church.

Were this opinion well founded, it would alone completely overthrow my application of the prophecy to the history of the league of Smalcalde; because both *the revocation of the edict of Nantz*, and *the persecution of the Piedmontese*, were *posterior* to the *protestant war in Germany*. But no such thing is even hinted at by St. John: indeed, if it were, he would contradict himself. He begins with informing us, that *the witnesses* should prophecy *the whole of the* 1260 *years*, clothed in sackcloth. He next predicts *their war with the beast*. And he lastly notes *the sounding of the seventh trumpet*. It is plain therefore, that *their war with the beast* was to take place *before* the sounding of *the seventh trumpet:* yet, since *a great part of the seventh trumpet* synchronizes with *the last period of the* 1260 *years*, some of *the witnesses*, long after the war of their German brethren with *the beast*, had still to continue prophesying in sackcloth or in a state of depression, during a great part of the time that *the seventh trumpet* was sounding; that is to say, during the pouring out of *its first six vials:* whence it is manifest, that *the war of the beast* cannot be the *last* persecution; because, if it were, *the witnesses* would *cease* to prophesy in sackcloth, even *before* the sounding of *the seventh trumpet*, and consequently would not continue to prophesy in sackcloth during *the whole space of the* 1260 *years*.

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The fact is, *the witnesses* were to be slain and to lie exposed only *in one particular street* of the city, and that *the principal street;* not *in every street* of it. *In this single principal street* the whole scene of *their war with the beast* is laid: *there* they are slain; *there* they revive; and *there* they ascend to heaven. It will follow therefore, that *the establishment of protestantism in Germany*, the cradle of the reformation, does not exempt other protestants from still continuing in a persecuted state during *the whole of the* 1260 *years*. *The war with the beast* is a *particular*, not a *general*, persecution: and the context of the whole prophecy amply shews, that it was not to be *the last particular* persecution, though it might be *the last in protestant Germany* *.

7. There are *three objections*, which may possibly be made to my application of this prediction to *the Smalcaldic league*.

(1.) *The first objection* is: why this persecution should be particularly noticed more than many others of at least equal, if not greater, magnitude and importance.

I answer, that, independent of *its* undoubted importance, it is marked by a circumstance which characterizes no other persecution of *the witnesses*.

* It is *probable*, that, although there may not be precisely another *persecution* of protestantism, there will be *a war* undertaken partly at least for the express purpose of utterly crushing it. I have already more than once hinted at *this holy war:* I shall hereafter state at large what may be collected from prophecy upon the subject.

A *mere* persecution is not here predicted. The several *ordinary* persecutions of *the witnesses*, their systematic depression, and their various sufferings for the truth, possess no features that sufficiently *discriminate* them from each other: hence they are foretold *in general* under the phrase of *prophesying in sackcloth.* But *the war of the beast*, so particularly spoken of, was to be something more than *an ordinary persecution.* It was to be *a persecution producing apostasy. The beast* was to slay *the witnesses:* he was to cause them to cease to be *witnesses.* In consequence of his violence, they were no longer, as before, to prophesy in sackcloth. They were to cease to prophesy *altogether.* Nor is this all: at the end of *three years and a half* they were to resume their prophetic functions. Here then we have a marked peculiarity, which sufficiently distinguishes the present persecution from all other persecutions, and which renders it abundantly worthy of a place in prophecy.

(2.) *The second objection* is: that *the war of the beast against the witnesses* was to take place when they were drawing near to the end of their testimony; whereas the German protestants were compelled to receive *the Interim* in *the year* 1548, which is already near *three centuries ago.*

This objection will not appear of any great weight, when *the whole duration of the Apostasy* is considered; for *three centuries* are either *a long* or *a short period*, according to *the number with which they are compared. The Apostasy of* 1260 *years*

years most probably commenced, as we have seen, *in the year* 606: consequently, in *the year* 1548 *the witnesses* had prophesied *upwards of nine centuries*, or very near *three quarters of their whole testimony*. The *remaining period* therefore was *short* in comparison with *that which preceded it*; and indeed *the whole period subsequent to the Reformation* may properly be styled *the latter end of the* 1260 *years**.

(3.) *The third objection* is: that *the witnesses* did not remain spiritually dead, during the *whole* three years and a half of *the Interim*; because several of the German states, such as Magdeburg for instance, did not *immediately* submit to it, but continued to protest against it during a considerable time after its promulgation.

I answer, that prophetic periods are computed from some remarkable act, which may be considered as marking their commencement, to some other remarkable act, which may be considered as marking their termination. Thus we are told by Daniel, that *the saints* are to be given into the hand of *the little papal horn* during the space of 1260 *years*. Now this period is to be computed from *the time*

* It may also be added, that, since the firm establishment of the Reformation, the sufferings of *the witnesses* have been very greatly mitigated; insomuch that what they have endured during *the last quarter* of the period of *their prophesying in sackcloth* is not to be compared with their troubles during *the three first quarters* of it. Would that we were more sensible of the great mercy of God in being allowed to enjoy the undisturbed exercise of our religion: for what are we better than our fathers, that the Almighty should shew himself thus gracious to us?

when they were formally given into its hand by an act of the secular power, to *the commencement of the Anti-christian expedition to Palestine and of the restoration of the Jews.* But, in literal matter of fact, *all* the saints have not been subjected to *the Papacy* during the *whole* period of *the* 1260 *years,* though *some* of them constantly have: because *all* were not immediately brought under the yoke, and many were delivered from it at the era of the reformation long before the end of that period. Thus likewise the time, assigned by Isaiah and Jeremiah for the desolation of Tyre, the captivity of Judah, and the servitude of the nations round about Palestine, is *seventy years;* namely the duration of the Babylonish monarchy, reckoning from *the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar* in what is sometimes esteemed the first year of his reign * to *the first year of Cyrus* †. And yet Tyre was conquered only about the middle of that period, and remained in a state of subjection not much more than half of it; and the nations were subdued, some sooner and some later: but the end of the period was the common term for the deliverance of them all ‡. On this same principle I have interpreted *the*

* That is, in the reckoning of Jeremiah, though not in that of Ptolemy: the former computing from his admission by his father into a share of the government; the latter, from his accession to sole empire by the death of his father.

† Isaiah xxiii. 15, 17—Jerem. xxv. 9, 10, 11.

‡ See Bp. Lowth on Isaiah xxiii. 15. His Lordship however seems to me to be mistaken in reckoning *the* 70 *years* from *the reputed*

the death of the witnesses. Many, indeed most, of the German protestants immediately submitted to *the Interim;* others did not submit immediately: but, from *the time of its promulgation* to *the revival of the witnesses,* precisely *three years and a half* elapsed *.

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reputed first year of Nebuchadnezzar to *the taking of Babylon by Cyrus,* because that is a period of only 68 *years* Dr. Blayney abundantly shews, that they must be reckoned as I have stated above. See Blayney on Jerem. xxv. 11.

* Mr. Butt does indeed object, that *the witnesses* cannot then have been slain, because their testimony was not then finished, *the* 1260 *years* not having then expired (Comment. on Daniel's last vision. p. 47.). The prophet however, as I have already very fully shewn, does not say, that they should be slain when their testimony was *finished,* but when it was *about to be finished.* Mr. Butt argues, in a similar manner, from Rev. x. 6, 7, that *the* 1260 *years* expire immediately before the sounding of *the seventh trumpet* (Ibid. p. 43.); whereas St. John makes no such assertion. I have at the beginning of this work shewn at large, that they expire, not at the sounding of *the seventh trumpet,* but at the effusion of *the seventh vial.* Hence, Mr. Butt's arrangement of *the* 1260 *years* must be erroneous, even independent of another consideration. He supposes them to commence in *the year* 455, and to terminate in *the year* 1697, reckoning them as equal to only 1242 *solar years.* He allows however that they are the time, during which *the saints* should be given into the hand of *the papal horn* (Ibid. p. 27.). Now I see not how it can be said, that *the saints* ceased to be under the domination of *the Papacy,* merely in consequence of the final withdrawing of England from the yoke of Rome. The greatest part of the continent was still devoted to Popery; and the Protestants still *occasionally* suffered persecution, and *constantly* prophesied in sackcloth. How then can *the* 1260 *years* have expired in *the year* 1697? Nor is this all: 75 *years* after the expiration of that period, *the*

Millennium

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8. It is a trite observation, that one error generally prepares the way for another. This is the case with Mr. Galloway's interpretation of the prophecy respecting *the two witnesses.* He assumes as proved, that *the two witnesses* are *the two Testaments;* and that their enemy, *the beast of the abyss,* is the same as *the second apocalyptic beast* or *the beast of the earth,* which he conceives to be "*the* "*powers of Atheism established by revolutionary* "*France.*" From these premises he concludes, that *the three days and a half,* during which *the witnesses* were to lie dead, are the same as *the times and time and dividing of a time,* during which *the saints* were to be worn out by *the little horn of the fourth beast:* and consequently, since *the little horn,* as well as *the beast of the earth,* is, upon his hypothesis, *revolutionary France,* that Daniel and St. John allude to *one and the same event*; namely, *the suppression of Christianity in France, during the space of three years and a half.* I have already shewn the erroneousness of this conjecture, so far as *the little horn* is concerned; I shall now point out, that it is equally erroneous in the case of *the present prophecy.*

Millennium is to commence. *The Millennium* has *not* yet commenced. I know Mr. Butt gives a different interpretation of Daniel's 1290 and 1335 *days,* computing them with Mede from *the profanation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes:* but, in the first place, I think with Bp. Horsley, that all the latter part of Dan. xi. has no sort of relation to Antiochus; and, in the second place, I can discover no great blessedness in living in the time when Arnold of Brescia was burnt alive, Mr. Butt's era of *the expiration of the* 1335 *days.*

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Mr. Galloway supposes, that *the two witnesses* are *the two Testaments.* We have seen, on the contrary, that they are not *the two Testaments;* but *the protestant confessors, the spiritual children of the twofold church of Christ.* Now the revolutionary fanaticism of *France* was not directed against the protestants *exclusively,* but against all who professed the Christian religion: the supposed completion therefore does not accord with the prophecy in *this* particular.

Mr. Galloway further supposes, that *the beast of the abyss,* who slew *the witnesses,* is the same as *the second apocalyptic beast,* or *the two-horned beast of the earth;* and that *this two-horned beast of the earth* is *revolutionary France.* Waving *at present* the discussion of the *last* of these points, I shall only *now* observe, that *the beast of the abyss,* who slew *the witnesses,* is certainly *not* the *two-horned beast of the earth,* but *the ten-horned beast of the sea* *: consequently

* Let the reader only compare together the following texts, and he will be sufficiently convinced of the truth of my assertion.

"The beast, *that ascendeth out of the abyss,* shall make war "against them." Rev. xi. 7.

"And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast "*rise up out of the sea,* having *seven heads and ten horns.*" Rev. xiii. 1.

"I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast "that carrieth her, which hath *the seven heads and ten horns.* "The beast, *that thou sawest,* was, and is not, and shall *ascend* "*out of the abyss.*" Rev. xvii. 7, 8.

It appears then, that, in one text, *the seven-headed and ten-horned beast* is said to arise out of *the sea:* and, in another text,

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consequently Mr. Galloway's interpretation will not hold good even upon *his own* hypothesis. He has largely endeavoured to prove, that *the ten-horned beast* is *the Papacy* *, and that *the two-horned beast* is *revolutionary France:* but, whatever power *the ten-horned beast* may be, he is evidently the same as *the beast of the abyss:* whence it would follow, even according to Mr. Galloway's own plan, that *the two witnesses* were slain by *the papal beast*, not by *the atheistical one:* therefore *his* exposition of the whole prophecy must be radically faulty. This will yet further appear, when I have proved, as I trust I shall be able to prove, that neither *the one*, nor *the other*, of *the two apocalyptic beasts*, is *revolutionary France.*

IV. "And in that hour there was a great earth-
" quake, and a tenth part of the city fell, and in
" the earthquake were slain seven thousand names
" of men: and the remnant were affrighted, and
" gave glory to the God of heaven. The second
" woe is past; and, behold, the third woe cometh
" quickly."

1. *The earthquake*, here foretold, is specially said to have taken place *in the same hour* or *synchroni-*

to ascend out of *the abyss:* whence it is a palpable truth, that *the beast of the sea*, and *the beast of the abyss*, are *the self-same ten-horned and seven-headed beast.* In reality, these two apparently different modes of designating *the beast* are the very same: for, as I have already observed, *the sea* and *the abyss* are synonymous terms.

* Comment. p. 159—Proph. History of the Church of Rome, passim.

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cally with *the war of the witnesses.* But, as we have recently seen, the protestant league of Smalcalde was formed during *the years* 1530, 1531, 1535, and 1537: this confederacy fell to pieces at the close of *the year* 1546, none of its members remaining in arms but the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse: these two princes were defeated on *the 24th of April* 1547 by the Emperor, in the decisive battle of Muhlberg: the *Interim* was despotically enforced on *the 15th May* 1548: the protestants revived from their temporary subjugation the latter end of *the year* 1551: and, on *the 25th of September* 1555, by the conclusion of the treaty of Passau, they ascended into the symbolical heaven of political authority. Such are the dates of the most memorable events, that occurred during *the war of the witnesses.* Consequently, since *the earthquake* is said to have happened *synchronically* with that *war*, its first shock could not have been felt earlier than *the year* 1530, nor later than *the year* 1555.

An earthquake denotes *a great revolution*, either *ecclesiastical* or *secular:* and the peculiar characteristic, which marks the present *earthquake*, is *the fall of the tenth part of the mystic Babylonian city.* Now that *city*, if understood ecclesiastically, is *the church of Rome within the limits of the western empire;* if secularly, *the western empire itself subsequent to its division into ten parts or kingdoms.* Such being the case, *the fall of the tenth part of the city* must mean, either *the subversion of one of the ten kingdoms*, or *the overthrow of a tenth part of*

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the papal ecclesiastical empire viewed as geographically coinciding with some one of those kingdoms.

But no *secular earthquake*, marked by the fall of one of the ten kingdoms, took place during *the war of the witnesses.* The *earthquake* therefore of the prophecy now under consideration must be *an ecclesiastical earthquake:* and, consequently, *the fall of the tenth part of the city* must denote *the entire downfall of Popery within the jurisdiction of one of the ten Latin kingdoms.*

With this conclusion the events of that day will be found perfectly to correspond. A violent *ecclesiastical earthquake* then took place; which in various quarters of the western empire did *infinite mischief* to the Papacy, but which *wholly subverted* it in no more than a single one of the ten Latin kingdoms. The reformation may be said to have commenced in *the year* 1517 with the preaching of Luther against indulgences: but, at that early period, it had no more the character of *an earthquake*, than the numerous anterior protestations of the Waldenses or of Wickliff or of Huss or of Jerome of Prague. It first, I apprehend, acquired such a character; when it began to be espoused by sovereign princes, when those princes cordially united both with their subjects and with each other to effect within their dominions a theological revolution, and when arrangements of this description had the effect of overthrowing either partially or entirely the established system of religion. Now the reformation first assumed the character which I

have delineated; when the protestant princes of Germany, at the head of their respective subjects, leagued together for the double purpose of eradicating Popery and of defending themselves from the aggressions of the Roman powers. But this occurred, as we have seen, at the formation of the league of Smalcalde: and that league began to be formed in *the year* 1530. Hence the reformation, now assuming the character of *an ecclesiastical earthquake*, began in that same year to shake down *the papal city*: and hence, agreeably to the prediction, *the figurative earthquake* was synchronical with *the war of the witnesses*.

2. We must now inquire, what *tenth part of the great city* was overturned by it; or, in other words, in which of the ten Roman kingdoms, that sprang out of the dismembered western empire, the ecclesiastical domination of the Papacy was entirely subverted? To this question there is but one answer that can be given. The protestant kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, cannot be estimated as three of the kingdoms into which the western empire was divided: and of those, which really *did* arise out of that broken empire, just one, and no more than one, rejected, in its public and legislative capacity, the errors of Popery; and authoritatively overturned that tenth part of the Roman ecclesiastical city, which was comprehended within its own territory. I need scarcely mention, that the Latin kingdom, thus virtuously singular among its nine

nine fellows, was *the kingdom of the Saxons in South-Britain.*

During the operation of a natural earthquake, the entire street of a well-built city is seldom thrown down by a single shock: its ruin is usually effected only by repeated successive concussions. Exactly similar to this was the progress of the figurative earthquake in England. The papal power and jurisdiction were abolished by act of parliament in *the year* 1534; and the reformation continued to advance during the whole of the reign of Henry the eighth: but the king himself, while he rejected the authority of Rome, pertinaciously adhered to its doctrines. Shortly after the accession of his son in *the year* 1547, it might have been thought, that the reformation was completed and that the papal system was wholly subverted: but, when Mary ascended the throne, all the measures of her predecessor were reversed, and the church of Rome regained its ancient ascendancy. That ascendancy however was only of a temporary nature: Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth: and the latter rapidly threw down the edifice, which had been so carefully rebuilt by the former. But even yet the authority of *the great city* was not so entirely overturned, as to destroy all hopes of its reëstablishment. A plan to effect that object was entered into by our second James, in close concurrence (as it is generally supposed) with the French king: and it required another shock of *the earthquake* to throw down for ever

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the tenth part of the spiritual Latin city. That final shock was the English revolution of 1688; when the prince of Orange was called to the throne, which had been abdicated by the misguided James. England was then ultimately lost to Rome: and the last attempt to regain her ended, in the expulsion of the papal royal family, and in the legislative enactment that no papist should be capable of sitting upon the throne of that kingdom. Thus, synchronically with *the war of the witnesses*, occurred, as it had been foretold, *a mighty earthquake;* which should be specially marked by the overthrow of Popery in *a tenth part of the great city*, or in one of the ten kingdoms into which the western empire had been divided.

3. We are told, that, in the course of this *earthquake*, seven thousand names of men should be slain; but that the remnant should be affrighted, and give glory to God. Now, as *the earthquake* does not throw down the whole of *the great city* but only a tenth part of it; the names of men, destined to be slain in the concussion, must of course be confined to that tenth part. Hence we must look for this allegorical slaughter solely in England. The expression itself is not a little remarkable: we are not told, that *men*, but that *names* or *titles* of men, should be slain. What we have to inquire therefore is, *what* names or titles were abolished at that period in the subverted tenth part of the Latin city? A ready answer to this question is afforded by history. Throughout England all the monastic orders

orders were suppressed, and their revenues confiscated. These then are the names of men doomed to destruction: and their number is fixed at *seven thousand;* because *seven* is a mystical sum denoting *fulness* or *entireness,* and its multiplication by *a thousand* points out the swarms of members which composed the total of the several orders. The names being thus slain or abolished, the rest, who inhabited the kingdom where the tenth part of the spiritual Roman city was shaken down, were struck with religious awe; and gave glory to the God of heaven, for prospering their efforts to establish the pure religion of the Gospel.

4. About this epoch, we are assured, *the second woe,* or *the woe of the Turkish horsemen,* is brought to a close: and such accordingly, as we learn from history, was actually the case. The last shock of *the earthquake,* by which *the tenth part of the city* was finally subverted, took place in *the year* 1688; when, by the glorious revolution, a death blow was given to Popery in England: and we may suppose the religious joy, described as *the giving of glory to God,* and placed between *the downfall of the tenth part* and *the passing away of the second woe,* to have occupied some few years beyond that time. Such being the case, *the woe of the Turkish horsemen* must have passed away not long after the important *year* 1688. Now, in *the year* 1697, the Turks were defeated by prince Eugene

Eugene in the memorable battle of Zenta: and this battle was followed, in *the year* 1698, by the peace of Carlowitz. But, from that period, the Turkish empire has been manifestly on the decline; and, instead of being any longer a woe to Christendom, Christendom has rather been a woe to it. Hence I am led to conceive, that *the second woe* passed away in *the year* 1698, or about some ten years after the last shock of *the great earthquake**.

At the conclusion of *the first woe*, it was merely said, that *two more woes* should come hereafter: but, at the conclusion of *the second woe*, it is intimated, with the emphatic interjection *Behold*, that *the third woe* should come *quickly*. This marked difference of expression shews very unequivocally, that the space of time between the end of *the second woe* and the commencement of *the third* should be *short*, when compared with the space of time between the end of *the first woe* and the commencement of *the second*. To judge therefore of the probable length of this *short* intervening period, we must obviously first specify the duration of the period, which elapsed between the end and the beginning of *the two former woes*. Now, as *the woe of the Saracenic locusts* commenced

* I have borrowed this interpretation of *the earthquake* and *the fall of the tenth part of the city* from Mr. Cuninghame. See his Dissert. on the seals and trumpets. p. 136—145.

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in *the year* 612 when they burst forth from the figurative cave of the abyss, and as the prevalence of that *woe* is limited to *five months* or 150 *prophetic days;* it must have passed away, as we have already seen, in *the year* 762: and, as *the woe of the Turkish horsemen* commenced when the four Euphratèan angels were loosed, and as those angels were certainly loosed towards the close of the thirteenth century; that *woe* must have commenced, either in *the year* 1281 when the Turks gained their first victory over the Christians, or in *the year* 1288 when Othman united in one monarchy the four sultanies, or in *the year* 1299 when he attacked the Constantinopolitan empire by invading the territory of Nicomedia. Whichever of these dates we may prefer, it will be found, that a period of more than *five centuries* elapsed between the termination of *the first woe* and the commencement of *the second.* Hence it will follow, that the space between the end of *the second woe* and the beginning of *the third,* which is characterised as being *short,* must be short *only as compared* with the *very long* period of 500 *years.* When viewed under this aspect, the relatively short space might be conjectured to comprehend about *a century,* more or less. We shall soon find, that history fully corroborates such an arrangement.

V. " And the seventh angel sounded; and there " were great voices in heaven, saying, The king-

" doms

" doms * of this world are become the kingdoms of " our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign " for ever and ever. And the four and twenty " elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell " upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying, " We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, " which art, and wast, and art to come; because " thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast " reigned. And the nations were angry, and thy " wrath is come, and the time of the dead, for judg- " ment to take place, and to give reward unto thy " servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to " them that fear thy name, small and great, and to " destroy them which destroy the earth. And the " temple of God was opened in heaven, and there " was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: " and there were lightnings, and voices, and thun- " derings, and an earthquake, and great hail."

1. As *the Saracenic locusts* and *the Turkish horsemen* constituted *the two first woes*, and as it is declared that *the third woe* should *quickly* follow *the second* which terminated in *the year* 1698; we of the present day must inevitably conclude, either that *the third woe* has already commenced, or that we cannot be very far removed from its commencement: for, since more than a century has now elapsed from the termination of *the second woe*, *the third* will not follow it *quickly*, should it commence

* For αἱ βασιλειαι Griesbach reads ἡ βασιλεια, which does not alter the sense; for it will not bear to be translated *a* kingdom, as Mr. Butt translates it, applying it to *protestant England*.

at some yet *remote* period. With recent transactions however before our eyes, we cannot, I think, be long in doubt, whether the predicted *third woe* has, or has not, commenced. The *year* 1789 has been marked by a revolution of so tremendous, and at the same time of so peculiar, a nature, that we can have little hesitation in determining, that *the seventh trumpet* then began to sound, and that *the third woe* was then ushered into the world. This year likewise, in which the French revolution broke out, a revolution big with misery to the whole of Europe, perfectly corresponds with the predicted chronological commencement of *the third woe.* It was to come *quickly* after the close of *the second.* But, since the word *quickly* has relation to the period which intervened between the end of *the first* and the beginning of *the second woe,* and since that period has been found to exceed *five centuries;* I had anticipated, that the comparatively short space between the end of *the second* and the beginning of *the third woe* would probably comprehend about *one hundred years.* The event has proved the justice of the conjecture. Ninety one years after the termination of *the second woe, the third* has commenced: and, at the sounding of *the seventh trumpet,* a revolution, unequalled in its horrors and unparallelled in its consequences, has suddenly burst upon an astonished world.

In fact, *the year* 1789 has evidently been the commencement of a new epoch: and, as such, it was styled by the Gallic anarchs *the first year of liberty.*

liberty. " The fall of the French monarchy," as it has been well observed by a modern writer, " was " marked with all the characters of suddenness and " mysterious power, which peculiarly appertain to " the times of God's extraordinary visitations." *Antichrist*, or *the Infidel King* of Daniel, was then revealed: but, at that early period of the revolution, he had not attained his full purpose. He panted to soar with a bolder flight than any of his predecessors in iniquity: and he rested not, until he had established the reign of *frantic atheism* as well as that of *demoniac equality*.

It is awfully interesting to trace the progress of *the third woe*, since its commencement with the French revolution in *the year* 1789.

On *the 12th of August* 1792, about three years after the first blast of the trumpet, *Antichrist* completed his exaltation above all law: for this day witnessed the final abolition of every distinction in civil society. " At an early period of the revolu- " tion in France, the fraternity of illuminated free- " masons took the name of *Jacobins* from a convent " where they held their meetings. They then " counted three hundred thousand adepts; and " were supported by two millions of men scattered " through France, armed with torches and pikes " and all the necessary implements of revolution. " Till *the 12th of August* 1792, the French Jaco- " bins had only dated the annals of the revolution " by the years of their pretended liberty. But, on " that day, when the King was carried prisoner into

" the temple, having been declared to have for-
" feited his right to the crown, the rebel assembly
" decreed, that to the date of *liberty* the date of
" *equality* should be added in future in all public
" acts: and the decree itself was dated *the fourth*
" *year of liberty, the first year and day of*
" *equality.*"

On *the 26th of the same month of August, Anti-christ* exalted himself above all religion: for that day beheld the establishment of atheism by law. A decree was then passed, ordering the clergy to leave the kingdom within a fortnight after its date: but, instead of allowing them the time specified even by their own decree, the Jacobin tyrants of France employed the whole of that period in seizing, imprisoning, and putting them to the most cruel deaths. The conduct of these unfortunate men, during this dreadful season of trial, certainly deserves the commendation of the Christian world. In spite of the various corruptions, with which they had debased the purity of the Gospel, they still shewed (to use an apostolical phrase) that they " had a little strength:" and I doubt not that many of them " slept in the Lord," though I cannot concede to Mr. Galloway and Mr. Kett, that they are *the saints* whom *the little horn of the fourth beast* was destined to wear out. The ministers of religion were now no more; and no traces of Christianity could be found in the reprobate Metropolis of the atheistical republic. One of the churches was converted into a heathen temple, the den of *the*

foreign god and *his kindred Mahuzzim:* and the rest were used as places of public festivity and amusement. There the abandoned citizens of Paris flocked in crowds, no longer as formerly to worship their Maker; but to hear his name blasphemed, his existence denied, and his eternal Son ridiculed as an impostor.

On *the 27th of the same month*, one of the Jacobinical miscreants caused an oath to be taken by all the members of the national assembly, that every exertion should be used to purge the earth of royalty: and it was decreed, that the convention should be what they were pleased to term *a committee of insurrection* against all the kings in the universe. Claiming a diabolical preeminence above mere private assassins, the pretended representatives of a whole nation enjoyed the unheard of honour of being *the first body of men* that openly and systematically proposed to institute *a band of patriots;* who, either by sword, pistol, or poison, should attempt to murder the sovereigns of all nations. The proposal indeed was not carried into effect: but this was owing to *fear*, not to *principle.* The *prudence* only of the measure was called in question, because *they themselves* might expect reprisals. As far however as they *durst*, they *acted.*

On *the 6th of November* 1792, a discourse upon *atheism* was pronounced by Dupont, and applauded by the convention: and, *in November* 1793, the hopeful pupils of the new republican school appeared at its bar; when one of them set forth, that all religious worship had been suppressed in his section,

tion, even to the very idea of religion. He added, that he and his school-fellows detested God; and that, instead of learning Scripture, they learned the declaration of rights. The convention, delighted with the progress made by these young atheists, ordered, with the most enthusiastic applause, that that they should be admitted to the honours of the sitting.

On *the 19th of November* 1792, a decree of fraternity and assistance to their brethren in rebellion throughout Europe was passed: and, on *the 21st*, the president ordered it to be translated into all languages as the manifesto of *all nations against kings:* a rare instance of French vanity and presumption; *the convention* had decreed it, *therefore* it was the manifesto of *all nations.*

On *the 15th of December*, another decree was past by these friends of liberty for extending the French system, *per fas atque nefas*, to all countries occupied by their armies: and, on *the 19th*, Marat, the *deliciæ* of the people, asserted in the Jacobin club, that in order to cement liberty two hundred thousand heads ought to be struck off. Meanwhile the streets of Paris were deluged with torrents of gore: the massacres of *August* and *September* will never be erased from the blood-stained annals of France: and the whole republic was converted by this "liberty of hell" into "one great slaughter-"house*."

On

* After the massacres of *August* and *September* the revolutionary tribunal, established *March the 5th* 1793, authorised the incessant

On *the 21st of January* 1793, the king, after suffering every species of indignity from his mockery of a trial down to the ribaldry even of a *Parisian* mob, was publicly murdered upon a scaffold. On *the 16th of October in the same year*, the queen shared the fate of her husband. And, on *the 12th of May in the same year* 1794, the princess Elizabeth, with a refinement of cruelty peculiar to the French, was executed the last of *twenty-six* persons.

On *the 17th of October* 1793, all external signs of religion were abolished: and, with a view to encourage the most unrestrained profligacy, it was enacted, that an inscription should be set up in the public burying grounds, purporting that "*Death is* "*only an eternal sleep.*" On *the 25th*, in order that no trace might remain of the Christian sabbath, a new calendar was adopted by the Convention; in which time was computed, not by weeks, but by periods of ten days each: and, instead of the ancient commemorations of the saints, festivals, similar to those of the idolatrous Romans, were instituted to *the national Mahuzzim, the Virtues, Genius, Labour, Opinion*, and *Rewards*.

On *the 7th of November*, Gobet, the republican bishop of Paris, with his grand vicars, and others of his clergy, entered the hall of the national convention, solemnly resigned his functions, and abjured

incessant exercise of the guillotine; and, in many towns, which had the misfortune to be suspected of Anti-jacobinical principles, decreed it to be permanent.

Christianity;

Christianity: and, that the truth of the prophecy might be evinced that *some of those were also allured who had clean escaped from them that live in error*, several *protestant ecclesiastics* abjured their religion at the same time.

Finally, on *June the 6th* 1794; fornication was established by law, as anarchy and atheism had already been: the convention decreed, that there is nothing criminal in the promiscuous commerce of the sexes.

Such have been the tremendous effects *already* produced by *the third woe-trumpet; a trumpet*, which, considering the *very* short period of time that has elapsed since it began to sound, has far exceeded its *two predecessors* in scenes of horror and confusion. "The massacre of St. Bartholo-" mew, an event that filled all Europe with con-" sternation, the infamy and horrors of which have " been dwelt upon by so many eloquent writers of " all religions, and that has held Charles IX. up " to the execration of ages, dwindles into child's " play, when compared to the present murderous " revolution, which a late writer in France empha-" tically calls *a St. Bartholomew of five years.* Ac-" cording to Mr. Bossuet, there were about 30,000 " persons murdered *in all France* on that day: " there have been more than that number murdered " *in the single city* of Lyons and its neighbour-" hood: at Nantz there have been 27,000; at " Paris 150,000; in la Vendée 300,000. In short, " it appears, that there have been two millions of

" persons

"persons murdered in France, since it has called "itself *a republic;* among whom are reckoned "250,000 women, 230,000 children (besides those "murdered in the womb), and 24,000 Christian "priests*." If such has been the effusion of blood *in France alone,* how will the dreadful catalogue of the miseries produced under *the third woe* be swelled, when *all the wars* †, which the revolution has kindled, are likewise taken into the account? how will it be yet incalculably swelled, ere the terrific blast of *this trumpet* has ceased, by *the time of trouble* predicted by Daniel at the close of *the 1260 years;* a time, *such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time* ‡? We have already beheld the effects of *the first* and *second woes:* do we need any further proof to convince us, that *the third woe* has begun to sound?

2. Having thus discussed the prophecy at large, I shall now draw my arguments to a point.

The witnesses then are to be slain, not when they have *finished their testimony,* but when they are *drawing near to finish it.* This translation is at

* Gifford's Preface to *Banditti unmasked.*

† These wars, as we shall hereafter see, are predicted under *the third vial,* as the massacres and proscriptions of revolutionary France are under *the second.* These matters will be discussed hereafter.

‡ As yet we have only been spectators of *the harvest of God's wrath,* or *the first grand period* of *the third woe-trumpet:* the more dreadful period of *the vintage* is yet future (See Rev. xiv. 14—20.). The two periods of *the harvest* and *the vintage,* by *the former* of which I understand *the French revolution* considered in all the effects which it has produced, will be discussed hereafter.

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once required, both by the Greek idiom, and by the harmony of the prediction itself. *The witnesses* are to prophesy in sackcloth *only* 1260 *years:* and, at the end of that same period, the power of *the beast* and *the little horn* is to begin to be broken. Hence it is manifest, that *the slaughter* must take place *during* the period, not *subsequent* to it: for how can *the witnesses* be slain at the very time when their calamities are finished; and how can they be slain by *the beast*, when the judgments of God are gone forth to avenge his Church, and to slay *the beast* himself?

Let us next note the era of *the slaughter.* It is placed under *the second woe*, synchronically with the fall of *a tenth part of the Roman city*, and previous to the sounding of *the third woe.* But *the* 1260 *days* must necessarily extend to the commencement of *the last period* of *the third woe*, because *the beast* is overthrown under *the seventh vial:* therefore they cannot expire at the *slaughter of the witnesses;* which takes place under *the second woe*, and before even the *earliest* blast of *the third woe* *.

Still it may be doubted, whether *the witnesses* be yet slain or not, because it may be doubted whether *the third woe* has begun to sound. Let us for a moment lay prophecy aside, and attend

* I have shewn very fully, that *the* 1260 *days* expire at *the effusion of the seventh vial*, not at *the commencement of the blast of the seventh trumpet.* Vide supra. Chap. i. § IV. 2. 3. (1.) (2.)

only

only to history. *The rise of Mohammedism and the conquests of the Saracens* form one singular epoch in history: *the rise and conquests of the Ottoman empire* form another singular epoch: after these two, where shall we pitch upon a third epoch equally singular? Can any other answer be given, an answer which the passing occurrences of every day render more and more probable, except *the French revolution, and its amazingly extensive consequences?* Now *the Saracens* and *the Turks* are universally allowed to be the subjects of *the two first woes.* And are *they* more worthy of a place in prophecy, than the daring impieties, the unheard of miseries, and the vast change in the constitution of the whole European commonwealth, which have flowed from *the French revolution?* Since we are compelled to reckon a new order of things from this tremendous convulsion, is it improbable that it should have been selected by the Spirit of God as one of the great apocalyptic eras? Is it improbable to suppose, that *the third woe* began to sound; when *the reign of Antichrist, of anarchy, and of Atheism*, commenced?

But this is not all: we have a clue afforded us by the prophecy itself. At a comparatively short period of time before the sounding of *the third woe-trumpet*, we are taught to expect, that synchronically with *the war of the witnesses*, and immediately before the passing away of *the second woe*, a tenth part of the great Latin city should be overthrown by *an earthquake*, and that seven thousand

sand names or titles of men should be slain or be abolished in the concussion. Now we have seen, that this prediction was exactly accomplished by the downfall of Popery in England, which was not finally subverted until *the year* 1688: and we have further seen, that *the second woe* passed away shortly after in *the year* 1698. But *the third woe* was to follow its predecessor quickly; that is to say *quickly*, when compared with the time, which elapsed between the end of *the first* and the beginning of *the second woe*, and which comprehended a space of more than *five centuries*. Accordingly, what I have supposed to be the commencement of *the third woe* followed *the second* with just the degree of rapidity, which might have been expected. For, while more than *five centuries* elapsed between the close of *the first* and the beginning of *the second woe;* only *ninety-one years elapsed* between the close of *the second* and the beginning of that *third woe*, which was *quickly* to follow *the second*. In short, if *the third woe* did not commence when I have supposed it to commence, and if we are to expect it at some yet future remote period; in such a case, it will not bear its predicted characteristic of *rapid succession to the second woe;* and, consequently, the prophecy must necessarily fail of being accurately accomplished.

3. Here however it may be objected, that, at the sounding of *the seventh trumpet*, the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, the dead are to be judged, and the

the faithful are to be rewarded; none of which took place at the era, to which I assign the commencement of its sounding.

To this I reply, that *the seventh trumpet* is plainly represented as being of a mixed nature; otherwise indeed it could not be styled *a woe.* Not only are the kingdoms of this world to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ in the course of its blast; but likewise the nations are to be angry, the wrath of God is to come, and the destroyers of the earth are in their turn to be destroyed. Moreover *the judgment* here spoken of cannot relate to *the literal judgment both of quick and dead,* because it is represented as synchronizing with *the general conversion of the world to Christianity* and with *the anger of the nations.* It must therefore mean *that judgment, which will be executed during the earthly reign of Christ, when the character of those who have suffered for his sake will be vindicated, when his enemies will be overthrown, and when all nations will submit themselves to his righteous dominion* *.

My view of the prophet's description of *the seventh trumpet* is this: that *it contains a brief statement of what will take place from the first sounding of that trumpet to the commencement of the Millennium*—Here, accordingly, we have a short account of what will occur during the effusion of *the seven vials;* which are all poured out subse-

* See Mr. Lowman and Archdeacon Woodhouse in loc.

quent

quent to the opening of the temple *. The wrath of God is now come; and, notwithstanding the anger of the nations, the destroyers of the earth are in their turn destroyed †. Meanwhile the vindicating saints rejoice and exult ‡. And, at length, through the instrumentality of the thunders and lightnings, the earthquake and the great hail storm, *Babylon* with all her associates is overthrown §— Here also we learn, what is afterwards explained at large, that, after the destruction of *the Anti-christian confederacy*, the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ ‖.

All these matters we briefly learn in the Apostle's description of *the seventh trumpet:* but, for the consolation of the Church, and to mark the rapid flow of events in the last days ¶, he inverts by anticipation the order of their accomplishment; mentioning the triumphant establishment of the kingdom of Christ, *before* God's assumption to himself of his great power, *before* the time of his wrath, *before* his destruction of those that destroyed the earth, *before* the day of the anger of the nations, *before* the last earthquake which was to divide the great

* Compare Rev. xi. 19. and xv. 5—8.

† Compare Rev. xi. 18. and xv. 4, 7, xvi. xvii. xviii. xix. 11—21.

‡ Compare Rev. xi. 18. and xvi. 5, 6. xviii. 20. xix. 1—9.

§ Compare Rev. xi. 19. and xvi. 17—21. xviii.

‖ Compare Rev. xi. 15. and xx. 1—6.

¶ See Rev. xii. 12.

city

city into three parts and to overthrow the cities of the nations, and *before* the coming of Babylon in remembrance before God. Full of the final triumph of Christianity and the commencement of the Millennium, he eagerly looks forward to that blessed period when the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; and afterwards, as it were reluctantly, touches upon the calamities which yet remained to be fulfilled under *the seven vials.* The propriety of this interpretation of the passage will be evident, if we consider that *the seventh trumpet* was to introduce *the third great woe* which surely cannot be the conversion of the world to Christ, and if we reflect that *all the seven vials* of the *last* plagues yet remain to be poured out ere the triumphant reign of the Messiah commences *.

Thus it appears, that *the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse*, or *the first of the little book*, extends through *the whole period of the* 1260 *years*. The *three remaining chapters of the little book* do the same: for *all the four*, in point of chronology, run parallel to each other; and jointly give us a complete history of *the western Apostasy*, and of *all who are concerned with it* whether *actively* or *passively.*

* See Mede's Works. B. 5. Summary View of the Apoc. p. 920—Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xi. in loc.—Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on the Apoc. Chap. ii. p. 254.

SECTION II.

Concerning the war of the dragon with the woman.

The *main spring of the Apostasy* is *the great red dragon*, or, as the Apostle himself informs us, *the devil*. It was this grand deceiver of the whole world; that actuated *the two-horned beast*, and that employed at *his* instigation *the ten-horned beast*, to trample under foot the Gospel of Christ. Hence St. John thinks it necessary to dedicate *one whole chapter of the little book* to the full elucidation of his wiles.

I. "And there appeared a great wonder in hea-
"ven; a woman clothed with the Sun, and the
"Moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown
"of twelve stars. And she being with child cried,
"travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.
"And there appeared another wonder in heaven;
"And behold a great red dragon, having seven
"heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his
"heads. And his tail drew the third part of the
"stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth;
"and the dragon stood before the woman which
"was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child
"as soon as it was born. And she brought forth
"a man-child, who was to rule all nations with
"a rod of iron: and her child was caught up
"unto

" unto God, and to his throne. And the woman " fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place " prepared of God, that they should feed her " there a thousand two hundred and threescore " days."

1. The excellent Bp. Newton appears to me to have failed in no part of his commentary upon the Apocalypse so much as in that on the present chapter. Although he had before very justly stated, that *the little book* described the calamities of *the western church*, and as such was with good reason made a separate and distinct prophecy: and although *the little book* itself repeatedly declares, that it relates to the history of *the great Apostasy of* 1260 *years*, which seems to have commenced in *the year* 606: yet he now supposes, in direct contradiction to his former statement, that the chief part, or I may rather say *the whole*, of this *allowed* chapter of *the little book* is occupied by matters entirely anterior, and therefore altogether foreign, to the history of *the great Apostasy*. In short, he makes the present chapter chronologically *precede* both the last and the following chapter, which he rightly esteems synchronical. Thus, he conjectures, that *the red dragon*, which persecutes *the symbolical woman* or *the Church*, is pagan Rome; and that he is styled *the red dragon*, because " purple or scarlet was the distinguishing " colour of the Roman emperors, consuls, and " generals:" that *the man-child* is primarily *the mystic Christ*, for whom *the Roman dragon* laid

snares to destroy him in his infancy, as Pharaoh did of old for the male children of the Hebrews: But that *Constantine* however, the first Christian emperor, " was here more particularly intended, " for whose life *the dragon Galerius* laid many " snares, though he providentially escaped them " all; and, notwithstanding all opposition, was " caught up unto the throne of God, was not " only secured by the divine protection, but was " advanced to the imperial throne; called *the* " *throne of God;* for there is no power but of " God; *the powers, that be, are ordained of God.*" Agreeably to this system, his Lordship thinks that *the war between Michael and the dragon,* mentioned in *the succeeding verses,* is *the struggle between Christianity and Paganism;* and that *the fall of the dragon from heaven* is *the final overthrow of idolatry.* In a similar manner, *the wrath of the dragon* after he is cast down to the earth is *the attempt to restore paganism in the reign of Julian, and the discord excited in the Church by the followers of Arius:* and *the flood,* which he vomited forth from his mouth, signifies *the irruption of the northern barbarians,* whom Stilicho, prime minister of the Emperor Honorius, invited into the Roman Empire. The Bishop however, being perfectly aware that *the woman's recess into the wilderness during the space of* 1260 *days* stood in direct opposition to his scheme, maintains, that this is said merely by way of *prolepsis* or *anticipation;* and that she did not flee into the wilder-

ness

ness *at this time*, but *several years after*, during the reign of *Antichrist*, which is described in the following chapter: notwithstanding the prophet is at this very time professedly writing *the history of the* 1260 *days;* and notwithstanding *the three other chapters* of *the little book*, namely, *the chapter* which immediately *precedes* this, and *the two chapters* which immediately *follow* it, are by the Bishop himself allowed to relate to *the events of the* 1260 *days in the West**.

2. This

* Sir Isaac Newton's mode of explaining the whole prophecy of *the little book* appears to me very unsatisfactory. In many respects, it is liable to the same objections as the scheme of Bp. Newton; and, in some points, it is liable even to greater objections. Thus Sir Isaac conceives *the two women*, mentioned in the Apocalypse, to be *one and the same person;* notwithstanding their characters are evidently so different: and supposes, that *the woman* fled into *the wilderness*, when *the Roman empire* was divided into *the Greek* and *Latin empires;* notwithstanding the prophet represents her as fleeing there at *the beginning of the* 1260 *days*. The general outline of his whole explanation, so far as it regards the three grand symbols of *the little book*, is as follows. He conjectures, that *the dragon* is *the Greek or Constantinopolitan Empire;* that *the ten-horned beast* is *the Latin Empire;* and that *the two-horned beast* is *the church of the Greek Empire*. In none of these particulars can I think him right, except in his opinion of *the ten-horned beast;* and even of *that* his definition seems to me to be somewhat too limited, for *the sixth head of the ten-horned beast* when it revived was *the Constantinopolitan Emperor*. As for *the dragon* being *the Greek empire*, such an opinion is utterly irreconcileable with the plain declaration of St. John that he is *the devil* and nothing but *the devil:* and as for *the second apocalyptic beast*, there is scarcely a single point in which his character answers to that of *the Greek Church*.

2. This plan of interpretation is liable to numerous objections.

In *the first place*, while I readily allow, that what is represented in the prophecy as *preceding* the flight of *the woman* into the wilderness at the commencement of *the* 1260 *days* must necessarily take place *before* the commencement of those days, and therefore cannot be included *within* them; yet I think it highly improbable, that St. John, having already foretold under *the trumpets* and *the sixth seal* the declining fortunes of the empire and its conversion to Christianity, should now at length, after he has begun to write the history of *the western apostasy*, detail so much at large as the Bishop supposes him to do (that is to say, so much at large as to occupy the whole inter-

For *the Greek Church* never wrought miracles to deceive *the Latins;* nor did it exercise all the power of *the first beast*, or *the Latin empire*, before him; nor did it cause *the whole earth* to worship *that beast;* nor did it set up *any image* for him; nor lastly did it ever forbid all to buy and sell, except those who bore the name and the mark of *the first beast*. In short Sir Isaac's exposition entirely confounds the whole plan of *the little book*, which treats of the affairs of the West, as *the two first woe-trumpets* had already treated of the collateral affairs of the East.

Since Sir Isaac has discussed all these matters in a single chapter, I thought it best to throw together my objections to his scheme in a single note, and not resume the subject hereafter. I shall only add, that I have not brought forward *every* objection that might have been urged, but have only stated some of the *principal* ones. See Observations on the Apocalypse, Chap. iii.

mediate

mediate chapter of *the little book*) the first propagation of Christianity, the struggle between Christianity and Paganism, the final overthrow of idolatry, the attempt to restore Paganism in the reign of Julian, the discord excited in the Church by the followers of Arius, and the irruption of the northern barbarians into the empire. The main subject of the prophecy is *the history of the* 1260 *days:* and this is ushered in by a very short preface, which was necessary to bring us acquainted with the chief characters of the drama. *The woman* travails, and bears *a son. The dragon* casts down *a third part of the stars,* and attempts to devour *the child. The child* is snatched up to *the throne of God,* and *the woman* flees into *the wilderness.* Then commence *the* 1260 *days.*

In *the second place,* the Bishop's supposition, that *the dragon is pagan Rome,* can scarcely be reconciled with the unequivocal declaration of St. John, that *he is the devil.* I have never been able to learn, upon what grounds his Lordship and Mr. Mede so peremptorily pronounce *the dragon* to be *the pagan Roman empire;* and, as if such an opinion could not be doubted, interpret the whole prophecy accordingly. Nothing can be more definite than the language of St. John. He tells us plainly, that *the great dragon* is "that old serpent, "called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the "whole world*." If then *the dragon* be *the devil,*

* Rev. xii. 9.

how

how can he be *the pagan Roman empire?* The circumstance indeed of his being represented with *ten horns* shews, that *the agent*, through whose *visible* instrumentality he persecutes *the woman*, is *the Roman empire:* but it is absolutely impossible, that *the dragon himself* should be *the pagan Roman empire*, because he is brought again upon the stage long after that *empire* had ceased to exist. Under the yet future *sixth vial*, an evil spirit is said to come out of his mouth*; and, at the commencement of *the Millennium*, after the destruction of *the beast* and *the false prophet*, he is bound for the space of a thousand years, and cast into the bottomless pit. Nor is this all: at the end of the thousand years he is again let loose to deceive the nations, and succeeds in forming the great confederacy of *Gog and Magog;* after the overthrow of which he is finally cast into the lake of fire and brimstone. It is observable, that in the course of the last prediction relative to him, he is no less than four times styled *Satan* and the *devil:* but, even independent of this circumstance, how is it possible that *the pagan Roman empire* can perform all the actions ascribed to *the dragon*†? Bp. Newton himself allows him to be *the devil* at the close of his career. If then he be *the devil* in one part of the Apocalypse, he must surely be *the devil* in every other part.

In *the third place*, his conjecture, that *the man-*

* Rev. xvi. 13. † Rev. xx. 1—10.

child

child is Constantine, is equally incongruous with the analogy of scriptural language. The description of *this man-child*, that he should rule all nations with a rod of iron, is evidently borrowed originally from *the second Psalm*, where *the universal dominion of Christ* is predicted. The same mode of expression is twice likewise used in the Apocalypse to describe the power which Christ exercises both in his own person and through the instrumentality of the faithful*: hence surely it is very improbable, that it should here be intended to allude to *Constantine*. Had the prophet meant to have pointed out *that* prince, he would scarcely have used such *very* ambiguous phraseology, as must by his readers have been thought *prima facie* applicable, not to *Constantine*, but to *Christ*.

In *the fourth place*, the *prolepsis*, of which the Bishop speaks, is no where to be discovered in the plain simple language of the prediction. Nothing is there declared, but merely that *the woman*, in consequence of *the dragon's* violence, fled into *the wilderness*, where she continued 1260 *days*; that, *during her sojourn there*, a war took place between *Michael* and *the dragon*; the result of which was, that *the dragon* was cast out of heaven: and that afterwards, *still during her sojourn there*, which the prophet carefully mentions a *second* time, *the dragon* vomited *a great flood* out of his mouth against her, in order that she might be completely carried

* Rev. ii. 27. and xix. 15.

away

away by it. In all this, I can perceive nothing like the slightest intimation of any *prolepsis*, but rather the very reverse: I can only discover a plain account of *the woman's persecution during* 1260 *days;* an account, which exactly tallies with the general subject of *the little book*, with *the* 1260 *days prophesying of the witnesses* in *the preceding chapter*, and with *the* 42 *months tyranny of the beast* in *the succeeding chapter*. Hence I conclude, that *this middle chapter* of *the little book* treats of the same period, that its *first* and *two last chapters* treat of.

In *the fifth place*, the scene of the warfare between *the woman* and *the dragon* is laid, at least *the beginning of it* is laid, in *heaven*, or *the Church general*. *The dragon*, the persecutor, was *a sign in heaven*, no less than *the woman*, the persecuted. Whence it will follow, that *the seven-headed and ten-horned dragon*, must have stirred up this persecution against *the woman* through the instrumentality, not of *a pagan*, but of *a nominally Christian*, power. *Heaven* indeed is the symbol either of *temporal* or *spiritual polity* * : little doubt however can be entertained in which sense it is to be taken in the *present* instance, when we note that both *the woman* and *the dragon* were equally signs in *this heaven*. Where *the woman* was, there was *the dragon* also. But, in the days of Paganism, imperial Rome *alone* occupied *the temporal heaven:* the Church was utterly excluded from it. *The heaven*

* See Chap. ii. § II. 1.

therefore

therefore cannot be *the temporal heaven.* But, if it be not *the temporal heaven,* it must be *the spiritual heaven,* or *the Church.* And if it be *the spiritual heaven,* or *the Church;* then *the war between the dragon and the woman* can have no relation to *the persecutions of pagan Rome,* whatever *the previous labour-pains of the woman* may have: for the empire, *as pagan,* never was in *the spiritual heaven;* and consequently cannot be *the dragon,* which the prophet declares to have been in *the self-same heaven* with *the woman.* In *no sense* therefore, either *temporal* or *spiritual,* can *the dragon,* upon Bp. Newton's interpretation, be placed in *heaven* at the same time that *the woman* was there*.

3. The

* 1. The interpretation, which Mr. Mede and Mr. Whitaker give of this prophecy, is nearly the same as that of Bp. Newton. The point in which they vary from each other is *the man-child.*

2. An exposition, essentially differing from that of all these writers has been offered by Mr. Bicheno. He supposes *the dragon* to be *the Roman empire from its first rise down to the moment of its present existence in the German empire.* While it was pagan, it was only *a great red dragon:* but, when it was converted to Christianity, and thus got into *the Church,* it acquired the additional character of *Satan,* or *the serpent. Michael and his angels* are *the Goths and other northern nations. The heaven,* out of which they cast *the dragon,* is *Italy: the earth,* into which he is cast, is *the empire without the limits of Italy,* or *the Roman provinces.* After he has been thus ejected from *heaven* or *Italy,* he makes his appearance first in France when Charlemagne became *Emperor of the Romans,* and afterwards in Germany, where he has ever since continued. *The wilderness,* into which *the woman* flees, symbolizes *Bohemia, Silesia,* and *Moravia:* and *the war of the dragon against the woman* denotes *the persecution of the protestants*

3. The fact is, *this second chapter* of *the little book*, like *its fellows preceding* and *succeeding*, relates.

testants in those parts by the Emperors of Germany. The seven heads and ten horns of the dragon are the same as *the seven heads and ten horns of the beast;* which represent *the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Pope. The dragon* at the close of the Apocalypse is still *the German empire. The beast* will be first overthrown; but *the dragon* will only be bound, or have his power so weakened as to be incapable of any immediate exertions. At the end however of *the thousand years*, which are no more than *a thousand natural weeks*, he will be let loose again. That is to say, "after "*nineteen natural years and a quarter*," for to this short period of time Mr. Bicheno reduces *the thousand years*, "*the imperial mo-*"*narchy* will again exert its power, form extensive alliances, and "make one grand effort against *the Church of God*, the liberties "of the regenerated nations, and particularly against *the Jews*, "to prevent the re-establishment of their commonwealth:" but this effort will end only in the destruction of them that make it, for God will magnify himself in their everlasting overthrow. Signs of the Times, Part i. p. 14, 15. Part iii. p. 129, 130.—The destiny of the German empire passim.

The objections, which I have made to Bp. Newton's scheme, might in themselves be sufficient to confute this exposition of Mr. Bicheno: nevertheless I shall add a few remarks on those parts of it, wherein he differs from the Bishop—In his opinion, that *heaven* means *Italy*, and *the earth the provinces of the Roman empire*, to say nothing of his having no scriptural authority for making such an assertion, he is inconsistent even with himself. *The great star* that falls from *heaven* under *the third trumpet* he elsewhere supposes to be *Attila*. If *heaven* denote *Italy*, how did *Attila* fall out of it? So, in the present prophecy, *the woman* is said to have been in *the same heaven* with *the dragon*. At what period was *the Church* exclusively confined to *Italy*? Again: *the whole earth* is said to worship *the ten-horned beast*, which according to Mr. Bicheno is *the Papacy*. Did *the provinces* of the Roman empire alone venerate *the Pope*? Was his authority *totally*

lates solely and exclusively, with the exception of a short introductory preface, to the events of *the* 1260 *years.*

tally disregarded in *heaven* or *Italy*?—But *the seven heads of the dragon* are the same as *the seven heads of the beast*; and *the last head of the beast* Mr. Bicheno supposes to be *the Papacy*. If then *the existing head of the dragon* be *the Papacy*, how can *the dragon* in his present state be *the Emperor of Germany*? Is *the Pope* the head of *the German empire*?—*The thousand years* however are only *nineteen natural years and a quarter*. Such an hypothesis so completely violates the whole analogy of prophetic computation, that it cannot, as appears to me, be tolerated a single moment—Mr. Bicheno asks, Where is *the dragon* elsewhere used as a symbol of *the devil*? Now, even if he were *not*, it would be amply sufficient, so far as the present prophecy is concerned, to reply, that St. John tells us, no less than *seven times*, that *the dragon* is *Satan* or *the devil*; and therefore I conclude him to be *the devil*. But the apocalyptic idea of making *the dragon* a symbol of *the devil* is manifestly borrowed from *the third chapter of Genesis* (see Rev. xii. 9.). It is almost superfluous to observe, that *the dragon* of the ancients was not *the poetical monster* of the middle ages, but simply *a large serpent*. What St. John beheld, was *a great red snake with seven heads and ten horns*; not *a creature with four legs and two wings* like the fabulous griffin, as the licence of painters is wont ridiculously to represent *the apocalyptic dragon*—This leads me to notice the opinion, that *the Roman empire* while pagan was only *the dragon*; but that, when it was converted to Christianity, it became *the serpent* and *the devil*. Constantine was certainly not a pattern of primitive piety, and *the Church*, in his days was by no means so pure as it had been: yet it is difficult to conceive, that *the empire* by embracing even a debased Christianity changed from bad to worse.

Mr. Bicheno defends this scheme of interpretation in his reply to me; but I cannot think that he renders it at all more satisfactory, though he now maintains that *the seven-headed beast* does not represent *the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Pope exclusively*, but *the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Pope united with the civil tyranny*

years. That such is the case, will sufficiently appear from the following considerations.

In point of chronology, *the four chapters* of *the little book* must run either *successive*, or *parallel* to each other; because, unless this be allowed, we shall be involved in the most perplexing confusion and uncertainty of interpretation that can well be imagined. *Three of these chapters* however, namely, the *first*, the *third*, and *the fourth**, are acknowledged by Bp. Newton himself to run *parallel* to each other, all of them equally relating to the events of *the* 1260 *years:* yet he conceives the *second* of

ranny of the papal governments of Europe. In this opinion I believe him to be no less mistaken than in his former one. But see his reply to me in his *Supplement to the Signs of the Times*, and my answer to him.

3. Mr. Lowman does not attempt to give a regular explanation of the prophecy relative to *the dragon* and *the woman:* but he very judiciously confines it to the period of 1260 *days*, and supposes it exactly to synchronize with the preceding vision of *the witnesses*, and the succeeding vision of *the two beasts.* "*The* "*seven heads and ten horns*," says he, "is a description so ex- "actly agreeable to the description of *the beast*, that it may, I "think, be justly understood as a limitation of the opposition "here meant to the times of *the beast*, or to that time when *the* "*Roman power* was represented by *ten horns*, as well as by *seven* "*heads and crowns;* or not before *ten kingdoms* were erected by "the nations which broke in upon *the Roman empire*, and divided "it into many independent governments—The representation of "*the wild beasts* in this vision (Chap. xiii.) refers same "times with the two former visions of *the witnesses prophesying* "*in sackcloth*, and *the woman flying into the wilderness.*" Lowman's Paraphrase in loc.

* Rev. xi. xiii. xiv.

the

the chapters chronologically to precede *the third;* and consequently, since *the third* treats of the same era as the *first* and *fourth,* the *second* must, according to his scheme, precede the *first* and *fourth,* no less than the *third.* Such a mode of interpretation completely destroys the beautiful simplicity with which *the little book* is arranged. *All* its chapters, I repeat it, *must* be either *successive* or *parallel* to each other. If then Bp. Newton makes the *third* chapter succeed the second, he ought likewise to make the second succeed the *first,* and the *fourth* the *third:* instead of which he selects one of the *middle* chapters of *the book,* and makes it precede *all the others,* which he supposes to run *parallel* to each other. This he does in direct opposition, both to the plain language, and the plain tenor, of *the little book.* From the mention of *the* 1260 *years* in *each* of its *three first chapters**, we can scarcely avoid concluding that they *equally* treat of the events of that period; and, if so, they must be *parallel,* not *successive,* to each other. As for *the last chapter* †, though no such declaration is explicitly made respecting it, yet its contents, as Bp. Newton rightly observes, sufficiently shew, that "it delineates, by way of opposition, the state of the true "Church *during the same period,* its struggles and "contests with *the beast,* and the judgments of "God upon its enemies." Hence I think it evident, that *all the four chapters* of *the little book* run

* Rev. xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14. xiii. 5. † Rev. xiv.

parallel

parallel to each other, and treat alike of the events of *the* 1260 *years*, with the exception (as I have already observed) of the short introductory preface which ushers in *the war between the dragon and the woman*.

4. But it is time to proceed to a discussion of the matters contained in the present chapter.

(1.) *Heaven* is *the Church general;* the same as *the holy city*, mentioned in the last chapter. Part of it is occupied by *the woman*, or *the spiritual Church of true believers;* who, during her sojourn in *the wilderness*, is the same as *the temple* and *the two witnesses*. Another part of it is occupied by *the dragon;* and corresponds, during the same period, with *the outer court trodden under foot by the Gentiles*, and with *the great scarlet whore* hereafter mentioned by the Apostle as riding triumphantly upon *the ten-horned beast*.

(2.) *The woman* is *the Church of Christ*, originally comprehending all professed Christians, but afterwards confined within narrow limits, and driven into *the wilderness*. She is represented, as being clothed with *the Sun;* to denote, that her spiritual nakedness is only clothed by the righteousness of Christ: as standing upon *the Moon*, which, like herself, is a symbol of *the Church;* to mark, that she shines only with a borrowed light, being naturally a dark opaque body*: and as wearing *a crown of twelve stars;* to

* Bp. Newton supposes *the moon* here to mean *the Jewish new moons* and *festivals* as well as *all sublunary things:* but I cannot find,

to shew, that, as *the Church* is a crown of rejoicing* to the Apostles, so the Apostles are the brightest crown of *the Church.*

(3.) *The dragon*, as St. John himself repeatedly teaches us, is *the devil.* He is represented with *seven heads* and *ten horns*, to shew us by whose *visible* agency he should persecute *the woman;* namely, by that of *the seven-headed and ten-horned beast* mentioned in the next chapter: and he is said to be in *heaven*, because the empire, which he used as his tool, made profession of Christianity, and was therefore a part, although an apostate part, of the visible Church general †.

Here it is of importance to remark, that *the woman* appears in *heaven* previous to *the dragon*'s appearing there, and that they both appear in

find, that this interpretation at all tallies with the general analogy of symbolical language. When *the Sun* means *a temporal sovereign; the Moon*, as Sir Isaac Newton very justly observes, and as I have stated in my *chapter upon symbols*, is "put for *the* "*body of the common people*, considered as *the king's wife:*" when *the Sun is Christ; the Moon* will, in a similar manner, signify *his* mystical wife *the Church.*

* 1 Thess. ii. 19.

† It is observable, that our reformers never thought of *unchurching* the church of Rome; though they freely declared it to have "erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, "but also in matters of faith." Hence, while they rejected its abominations, they did not scruple to derive from it their line of episcopal and sacerdotal ordination; well knowing, that *holiness of office* is a perfectly distinct thing from *holiness of character*, and that the consecration of *a Judas* was no less valid than that of *a Paul* or *a Peter.*

heaven

heaven before the commencement of *the* 1260 *years*. This perfectly corresponds with the history of *the Church*. The empire, which was a tool of *the dragon*, was not originally in *the ecclesiastical heaven*: nor did *the dragon* begin to use it *overtly* as his tool, until the apostasy of 1260 *years* had commenced; although a very general *individual* apostasy from the purity of the primitive faith had taken place prior to such commencement, whence *the dragon* is likewise said to be in *heaven* prior to it*. It is manifest, therefore, that, as the labour-pains of *the woman* precede *the* 1260 *years*; so her open persecution by *the dragon* is carried on during the continuance of those years, and consequently (as I have already observed) can have no relation to the persecution of Christianity by pagan Rome. Since then *the dragon* uses the apostate Roman empire as his tool; *its public apostasy*, and *his publicly beginning thus to use it*, must be synchronical: and therefore *his first direct attack upon the man-child*, and *the flight of the woman into the wilderness*, must synchronize with *the commencement of the authorized Apostasy*, that is to say, with *the commencement of the* 1260 *years*.

* This distinction between an *individual* and an *authorized* apostasy, the first commencing previous to and the other with *the* 1260 *years*, is stated at large in the beginning of this work (Chap. i. § II. 1. (2.)). I conceive it to be of great use in explaining the present prophecy, because it accounts for the representation of *the dragon* being in *heaven*, and of an apostasy taking place before the commencement of *the* 1260 *years*.

As

As he is described *with seven heads and ten horns* in allusion to *the first apocalyptic beast*, or *the Papal Roman empire:* so he is said likewise to have *a tail* in reference to *the corrupt superstition* so successfully taught by *the second apocalyptic beast*, or, as he is elsewhere styled, *the false prophet.* With *this tail* he draws *the third part of the stars of heaven*, and casts them down to *the earth:* in other words, he causes *those Christian bishops*, whose sees lay in *the western Roman Empire*, to apostatize from the purity of the apostolic faith *. This event is said to have taken place before the commencement of *the* 1260 *years.* Long previous to that era there was a grievous *individual* apostasy from the faith. The whole Roman empire was gradually corrupted; and this corruption paved the way for the development of an *authorized* apostasy, and for the revelation of *the man of sin* in the western third part. *The dragon* had indeed crept into *the Church* before the commencement of *the* 1260 *years;* but that period is the peculiar time, during which he is permitted to reign, and during which *the saints* are openly given into the hand of *the little horn.* Hence *the woman* is said to flee from his face, during precisely that period, into *the wilderness;* as Elijah heretofore did from the face of Ahab: and there, in the midst of *the spiritual barrenness* which spreads far and wide around her,

* I have already ascertained the meaning of *the third part* to be *the third part of the Roman empire.*

she is fed with *the heavenly manna of the word* in her prepared place; as Elijah was, in the waste and howling desert, by the ravens.

(4.) Thus far the prophecy is sufficiently easy of interpretation, but the character and birth of *the man-child* are attended with no small degree of difficulty. That he must be *Christ* in *some* sense, is manifest, as Mr. Mede very justly observes *; but the matter is, how we are to interpret his birth and character, so as to make them accord with the general tenor of the prediction. It seems at once extremely harsh, and altogether incongruous with the universal phraseology of Scripture, to suppose that *the absolutely literal Christ* can be intended by this symbol; for our Lord is invariably represented as *the husband*, never as *the son*, of his Church. Hence Mr. Mede conceives, that *the mystic Christ* is here meant, or *Christ considered in his members;* in other words, that by *the man-child* we are to understand *the whole body of the faithful*, or *the spiritual children of the Church*. The greatest difficulty however yet remains. Supposing this interpretation of the symbol to be the right one, how are we to interweave it with the prediction, so as to make them properly harmonize together? Mr. Mede believes *the pains of the woman previous to her parturition* to denote *the persecutions of the Church during the days of paganism; the birth of the child*

* "Cum verba sint *Christi* periphrasis, necesse est ut iisdem "*Christus aliquis* designetur." Comment. Apoc. in loc.

to

to mean *the spiritual birth of the faithful by baptism;* and *the catching up of the child to the throne of God* to signify *the introduction of the Christians into sovereign power by the conversion of the Roman empire under Constantine.* But, if *the man-child* symbolize *the whole body of the faithful,* and if *his birth* denote *the spiritual birth of the faithful;* why should they be said to born in the age of Constantine rather than in any other age, since numbers of spiritual children still continue to be born to *the Church* by the laver of regeneration, and will thus continue to be born to the end of the world?

Mr. Lowman's scheme appears to me liable to fewer objections than Mr. Mede's. Like myself, he confines *the whole war between the woman and the dragon* to the period of the 1260 *years,* instead of going back to the days of primitive Christianity and the age of Constantine; and most justly observes, that the prediction "plainly describes an "afflicted and persecuted state of *the Church* in "general, during this period." Having taken this ground, which to myself at least appears absolutely impregnable, inasmuch as it is twice so particularly marked out by the Apostle*, he paraphrases the passage relative to *the birth of the man-child,* as follows. "*The woman* ready to be delivered "brought forth *a man-child,* to intimate that *the* "*Christian Church* should be continued by a con-

* Rev. xii. 6, 14.

" stant succession of converts, notwithstanding all
" opposition. Thus Christ's kingdom should pre-
" vail over all enemies, and break all opposition,
" as the ancient oracles prophesied concerning him,
" *That he should rule all nations with a sceptre of*
" *iron.* As soon as *this child* was born, I beheld
" it caught up to God and his throne, to intimate
" God's care and protection of *the true Christian*
" *Church*, and the safety of *the Church* in God's
" protection *."

This exposition contains much that is excellent. In the first place, Mr. Lowman assigns the prophecy to its right chronological era; namely, the period of *the* 1260 *years.* And, in the next, he adopts the most natural interpretation of *the catching up of the man-child to the throne of God;* namely, that it signifies *the superintending care with which the Almighty for ever guards his faithful people.*

* Lowman's Paraph. in loc. He adds in a note, " Grotius
" supposes, I think, with great probability, that these expres-
" sions, *And her child was caught up unto God and his throne*, are
" an allusion to the preservation of Joash, in the time of Atha-
" liah's usurpation, when she put to death all the rest of the
" royal family (2 Kings xi. 2, 3.). *Jehoshebah took Joash the*
" *son of Ahaziah, and stole him from among the king's sons, which*
" *were slain—And he was hid in the house of the Lord six years.*
" He was kept safe in one of the chambers of the temple, till he
" was brought out by Jehoiada the high-priest, and restored to
" the kingdom of David. Thus the true worshippers of God
" shall not all be destroyed by the enemies of religion; some,
" like Joash, shall be kept safe, as if in heaven, the true temple,
" till they shall appear publicly with victory over their ene-
" mies."

Yet

Yet even this exposition is not free from *every* objection. The question will still recur, If *the birth of the man-child* denote *the perpetual spiritual birth of Christian converts*, why should *the woman* be represented as bringing him forth immediately before her flight into the wilderness during *the* 1260 *days*, rather than at any other era? Did she bear no spiritual children before that era? Has she borne none since?

It appears to me, that the key to the true interpretation of the prophecy is the acquiring a right idea of *the woman's parturition:* and this, I cannot think, that either Mr. Mede or Mr. Lowman has acquired. There is a passage in Isaiah, which is almost exactly parallel to the present prediction, and which consequently may teach us how we ought to understand it. Speaking of *the mystic daughter of Zion*, and foretelling *the restoration of the Jews* and *their final establishment as a nation*, Isaiah says, "Before she travailed, she brought forth; "before her pain came, she was delivered of a "man-child. Who hath heard such a thing? Who "hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made "to bring forth in one day, or shall a nation be "born at once? for, as soon as Zion travailed, "she brought forth her children*." *The birth then of a man-child* denotes not *regeneration* or a

* Isaiah lxvi. 7, 8. That *the restoration of the Jews* is here intended, and not *the conversion of the Gentiles to Christianity*, is shewn in my work on *the restoration of Israel and the overthrow of Antichrist.*

spiritual

spiritual birth, but *the allegorical birth of a community*; that is to say, *its final and complete establishment as a community*. The national birth of the Jews is to be so sudden and unexpected, as to precede in a manner the pains of labour. That of the Christian community, on the contrary, was to follow very severe pains; in other words, the Christian community was not to acquire a full establishment until after many afflictions and persecutions, as Mr. Mede rightly understands *the pains of the woman* previous to her parturition. The question then is, *When did the Christian community acquire so complete an establishment as to answer to the allegory of the man-child being completely born?* Since the scene lies within *the Roman empire*, it may be answered, *When Christianity was finally established and when Paganism was authoritatively overthrown*. This was not the age of Constantine; for, although *the child* may be considered as then beginning to be born, Paganism still maintained a divided sway with Christianity, and shortly after the death of Constantine was re-established by Julian. But in the age of Theodosius, at the close of *the fourth century*, the senate publicly decreed the abolition of Paganism: and, although some traces of it remained, even until the *sixth century*, in the remoter provinces, it then received its death blow, and the paramount establishment of Christianity took place.

Scarcely was *the child* born, when *the dragon* attempted to devour him, first by setting on foot a very

very general apostasy from the truth, and afterwards by causing that apostasy to be *openly* established. Some time previous to *the public* development of the apostasy at the commencement of *the* 1260 *years*, an *individual* apostasy had been gradually introduced into *the Roman empire*. This at length became so extensive, that *the dragon* is represented as casting down from heaven *the third part of the stars* or *all the bishops of the western empire*. When matters were thus prepared, he openly attacked *the woman* and *her offspring*. *The saints* were delivered into the hand of *the little horn*, and *the man of sin* was revealed. But the malice of *the dragon* was unable wholly to eradicate genuine Christianity. A chosen seed was wonderfully preserved through all the darkness and persecutions of *the* 1260 *years*. The *mystic child* was snatched away from the devouring jaws of *the dragon*, was caught up to the throne of God, and was placed under the superintending protection of the Almighty; while *the woman*, the true church, fled into *the wilderness* *.

These transactions must be considered as forming a brief preface to the main subject of the vision, which, like the other visions of *the little book*, relates to *the persecution of the true Church by the papal Roman empire under the influence of the devil*,

* For this interpretation of *the birth of the man-child*, with the exception of a few alterations and additions, I am indebted to Dr. Okely, of Lower Wike, near Halifax in Yorkshire.

during

during the allotted period of three times and a half or 1260 *days.*

II. " And there was war in heaven: Michael " and his angels fought against the dragon: and " the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed " not; neither was their place found any more in " heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that " old serpent, called the devil, and Satan, which " deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into " the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. " And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now " is come salvation, and strength, and the king- " dom of our God, and the power of his Christ: " for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, " which accused them before our God day and " night. And they overcame him by the blood of " the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; " and they loved not their lives unto death. There- " fore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in " them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and " the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, " having great wrath, because he knoweth that he " hath but a short time.

" And, when the dragon saw that he was cast " unto the earth, he *(still)* persecuted the woman " which brought forth the man-child. (Now to " the woman were given two wings of a great " eagle *, that she might fly into the wilderness, " into

* This idea is manifestly taken from that of Exodus, wherein the sojourn of *the Israelites* in *the wilderness* from the face of *the*

" into her place, where she is nourished for a " time, and times, and half a time, from the face " of the serpent.) And the serpent cast out of his " mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he " might cause her to be carried away of the flood. " And the earth helped the woman; and the earth " opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood " which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And " the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went " to make war with the remnant of her seed, which " keep the commandments of God, and have the " testimony of Jesus Christ."

1. Throughout the whole of the present prophecy, we cannot too attentively keep in mind, that *the dragon* is neither *the Roman empire* nor *the Pope*, although *the instigator* of them both, but simply *the devil*: for this clear discrimination of character, which the Apostle anxiously as it were insists upon, will alone lead us to a right understanding of what is meant *by his fall from heaven to earth* *.

So

the Egyptians, is described precisely in the same manner as the sojourn of *the woman* in *the spiritual wilderness*, from the face of *the serpent*. " Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians; " and how I bare you on *eagles' wings*, and brought you unto " myself" (Exod. xix. 4.). Bp. Newton, agreeably to the plan of interpretation upon which he set out, and which I cannot but think wrong, seems to imagine, that, the *eagle* being *the Roman ensign*, *the two wings* may allude to *the Eastern* and *Western empires*.

* This expression generally denotes *apostasy*, when used in an ecclesiastical sense; but cannot be its import here, because *the dragon*

So long as Satan found *an apostate* Church a convenient engine for persecuting the faithful followers of Christ, just so long he continued in it: but, when the age of superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny was past; when the papal thunders were no longer regarded; and when he found, that *the two witnesses* ascended up into *heaven*, not only in *Germany*, but in *Britain*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, in despite of all his attempts to prevent them: then it became time for him to quit his ancient station, and to seek some more convenient battery against *the symbolical woman*. Driven from *heaven* or *the Church*, and finding that he could no longer execute his gigantic plans of mischief through the instrumentality of *the Papacy*, he next took his stand upon *the earth*, and again renewed his attacks upon *the woman* and *her mystic offspring* with more virulence than ever. Not but that he still retained his influence over *the apostatical heaven*, and over many of *those stars* whom his long fostered superstition had cast down to *the ground*: but the *Roman church* was henceforth only *an inferior consideration* with him; like a worn out instrument, its blows were not now attended with their former effects; *a new station* must be assumed, whence in an age of literature and refinement *the woman* and *the remnant of her seed* might be assailed with a greater probability of

dragon was *already* an apostate angel. Some other interpretation therefore must be sought, which may consist with the character of *the dragon*.

victory.

victory. This station, we learn from the prophet, was *the earth*, or *the secular Roman empire*. Satan, no longer arrayed like *an angel of light*, like *a minister of the Church of Christ*, now assumed the garb of *humanity, liberality, candour*, and *philosophy:* and prepared to vomit forth from the dark dens of atheism and infidelity *that flood*, with which he hoped to carry away his enemy *.

2. From this general statement, I shall descend to particulars. *The war between Michael and the dragon* does not, I apprehend, relate *exclusively* to *the war between the witnesses and the beast*, mentioned in *the preceding chapter*, although it doubtlesss comprehends it as *a part of one great whole*. The difference between them is sufficiently striking to justify this supposition—*The war of the witnesses* took place in only *one particular street of the great city. The war of Michael* was carried on *in the Church general—The war of the witnesses* was fought upon *earth:* whence we may conclude, that it was not only *a spiritual one*, as being fought *by the witnesses;* but also *a literal one*, like those of *the Saracenic locusts* and *Turkish horsemen*, as being fought *upon earth*, and with *a material enemy*, the *last head of the beast. The war of Michael* was fought *in heaven;* and the weapons of his soldiers were, not carnal, but spiritual; for they overcame *the dragon* " by the blood " of *the Lamb*, and by *the word of their testimony*,

* Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

" and

" and they loved not their lives unto death."—*This second war* therefore comprehends *the spiritual*, though not *the literal*, part of *the former war of the witnesses*. It was not, like *the first*, begun and ended within the space of a few years: but it was a long-continued struggle between *the powers of light* and *the powers of darkness*. It commenced with the *Apostasy itself*: it raged with dreadful fury in the age of the Waldenses and Albigenses: it issued in a signal victory at the time of *the reformation*, the victory here celebrated by the prophet: but it will continue, *with abated violence*, even after Satan has chosen a different and more formidable station, to the very end of *the* 1260 *years*; for, throughout the whole of this period, are *the saints* to be given into the hand of *the papal horn*, and *the witnesses* to prophesy in sackcloth. At the era of *the reformation* then, *the great victory of Michael over the dragon* was achieved. Then it was, that " salvation, and " strength, and the kingdom of our God, and " the power of his Christ," were manifested. Then it was, that the " accuser of our brethren " was cast down, which accused them before " our God, day and night," of the very same crimes which he had heretofore alleged against the primitive martyrs and confessors; *promiscuous fornication, infanticide*, and even *bestiality*. Then it was, that " the *heavens*, and they that dwell in " them," were called upon to rejoice; *heavens*, because the boasted catholicism of *the Roman*

heaven

heaven was now annihilated, and *many* reformed *heavens* or *churches* were established, differing indeed unhappily in ecclesiastical polity, but holding one head even Christ. And then it was that *a woe* was proleptically denounced against "the inhabiters of *the earth*" or *the papal Roman empire in general*, and "of *the sea*" or *a part of it which was shortly to be convulsed by revolution in particular;* even *that third woe*, which was to be so much more tremendous than *either* of its *two predecessors:* "for the devil had come down "unto them, having great wrath, because he "knoweth that he hath but *a short time.*" He had *many years* reigned triumphant in the *Church* under *the first* and *second woes*, during the long period of *the latter days*, during the age of superstition and idolatry: but his final great attempt to destroy *the woman* under *the third woe*, during the period of *the last days*, during the age of atheism and profane mockery, is to be comparatively only *a short time.* He was cast indeed from *heaven* under *the second woe;* but his *peculiar* time, *the short time* alluded to by the Apostle, commenced with the sounding of *the third woe-trumpet.* For this *last great woe* he had been diligently preparing, ever since his signal defeat by Michael and his angels: but his scheme was not ripe for execution, till the blast of *the seventh trumpet* gave the signal for the development of infernal anarchy and undisguised hostility to the God of heaven. *The seventh trumpet*, as we have seen,

seen, began to sound in *the year* 1789, at the beginning of *the French revolution.* Now, supposing *the Apostasy* to have commenced in *the year* 606, it will be evident, that, of *the* 1260 *years* only 77 remained unelapsed *in the year* 1789: consequently Satan had but *a very short time* for the accomplishment of *his last plan,* compared with *the preceding centuries* of his sway in *the church of Rome.*

3. In order the more fully to perceive the exact fulfilment of the prophecy now under consideration, it will be proper to trace the steps of *the dragon, after* he was cast out of *heaven,* and *before* the revelation of *Antichrist* took place under *the third woe-trumpet.*

At the revival of letters in Europe, the first discovery, that was made, was that of the multifarious absurdities maintained by *the Church of Rome.* These had been long held up to the world as the essentials of Christianity; and every impugner of them had been treated as a heretic. The consequence was, that the mummeries of *Popery* were charged upon *the Gospel:* and, because *they* were evidently ridiculous superstitions, *it* was thought to be a ridiculous superstition likewise. Hence arose scepticism; which the subtle enemy of mankind soon matured into infidelity, and even into atheism.

The prophecy teaches us, that, when *the dragon* quitted *heaven,* he retired to *the earth* and *the sea:* and history testifies, that it was not long, ere the

fruits of his labours were abundantly evident in *France, Germany,* and *Italy.* "It is certain," says Mosheim, "that in *the sixteenth century* there lay "concealed in different parts of Europe several "persons, who entertained a virulent enmity "against religion in general, and in a more espe-"cial manner against the religion of the Gospel: "and who, both in their writings and in their "private conversations, sowed the seeds of impiety "and error, and instilled their odious principles "into weak and credulous minds. It is even re-"ported, that in certain provinces of *France* and "*Italy,* schools were erected, whence these im-"pious doctrines issued *." These continental infidels may be considered as the real fathers of our English free-thinkers. Accordingly, "the histories "of those times bear witness, that our English "youth, who travelled even so early as the reign "of James the First, returned too often with the "seeds of vice and infidelity, which they gathered "with the knowledge and the manners of more

* It is probable, that from some one of these secret schools proceeded the famous pamphlet of *The Three Impostors,* meaning *Moses, Christ,* and *Mohammed:* if indeed there ever were such a pamphlet. Infidelity prevailed even among *the Popes* themselves; as if, disgusted with the absurdities of the very superstition which was so profitable to them, they had sought refuge in the bosom of atheism. The blasphemy of Leo the tenth is well known. "This fable of Jesus Christ," said he to Cardinal Bembo, "hath done us good service." According to the Romanists, *every Pope* is infallible: what sentiments will they entertain of Leo?

"polished

" polished countries: and the court of Charles the
" Second displays, in a very striking manner, the
" principles and habits, which the King and his
" Nobles had learned upon the continent. The
" general detestation of the hypocrisy and fana-
" ticism of the Puritans tended to heighten their
" irreligion, and encouraged them to publish their
" opinions: but the kingdom at large was not in-
" fected by them; and the following reigns exhibit
" in every rank of people an attachment to reli-
" gion, and a zeal in its cause, which the annals of
" no other nation can furnish *."

For a considerable length of time however, infidelity was confined to the higher and the literary orders; the humble and unambitious Christian was happily placed without the sphere of its influence. The project of *the wily serpent* was as yèt in its infancy: and little did those nobles, who encouraged it, imagine, that they were unwarily helping to construct an engine destined for their own destruction: But, as the period of *the third woe-trumpet* approached, Satan took at once both a wider and more systematic range. Infidelity was diffused in a manner unknown in any former age. No class of society was exempt from its poison. Publications, adapted to the comprehension of the lower orders, were zealously distributed throughout every country in Europe by the secret clubs of the illuminated: and, as a mind

* Hist. the Inter. Vol. ii. p. 135.

unused

unused to argument can readily see an objection, without being able accurately to follow the train of reasoning which pervades the confutation of it, a captious doubt, once injected into the head of a poor and illiterate man, can scarcely ever be removed even by the clearest demonstration of the evidences of Christianity *. Impudent assertion now occupied the place of proof: and a conviction of false representation was little regarded by those, whose object was to disseminate error, and who

* A learned and much revered friend of mine (the Rev. R. Hudson, A.M. head-master of the Grammar Shool at Hipperholme), some time since put into my hands a small tract, which was industriously circulated in his neighbourhood. It was replete with a variety of quibbling questions, which the merest sciolist in theology would find little difficulty in answering; but which were perfectly well adapted to puzzle the intellect of a plain unsuspecting labourer. In order to avoid the necessity of annexing *the printer's name* to a publication, it was ingeniously *ante-dated*. "It was by small tracts of this "sort," says the present worthy Bishop of London, "disseminated among the lower orders in every part of France, that "the great body of the people there was thus prepared for that "most astonishing event (which, without such preparation, "could never have been so suddenly and so generally brought "about), the public renunciation of the Christian Faith. In "order to produce the very same effects *here*, and to pave "the way for a general apostasy from the Gospel, by contaminating the principles and shaking the faith of the inferior "classes of the people, the same arts have been employed, the "same breviates of infidelity have, to my knowledge, been "published and dispersed with great activity, and at a considerable expence, among the middling and lower classes of "men in this kingdom." Charge. 1794.

had regularly calculated that an atheistical publication would be read by many that would probably never see the answer to it. *Formerly* infidelity was conveyed in the shape of *a professed treatise;* and they, who chose to peruse it, were at least *aware* of what they might expect. Hence a careful Christian parent knew how to secure his inexperienced offspring from the effects of its poison. But *now* there is scarcely a book which he dares to trust in the hands of his children, without first thoroughly examining it himself: and even after *all* his precautions, his son may accidentally take up a treatise on *botany* or *geology*, and rise from the perusal of it, if not an infidel, yet a sceptic. In short, the lurking poison of unbelief has of late years been "served up in every shape, that is "likely to allure, surprize, or beguile, the imagination; in a fable, a tale, a novel, a poem; "in interspersed and broken hints; remote and "oblique surmizes; in books of travels, of philosophy, of natural history; in a word, in any "form rather than that of a professed and regular "disquisition *."

The sure word of prophecy has taught us where to look for the *real* origin of these infernal productions. "Woe to the inhabiters of *the earth* "and of *the sea!* for the devil is come down unto "you, having great wrath, because he knoweth "that he hath but a short time." It has done

* Paley's Moral Philosophy.

more

more. It has explicitly described to us the character of those abandoned men, those hardened scoffers, whom Satan was about to employ as his wretched tools in *the last days**. The existence of such men we have witnessed with our own eyes: but, till lately, we were not aware of their existence in any other than their mere *individual* capacity. We have at present however upon record the confession of an arch-atheist, that there has long been in Europe, particularly *in papal* Europe, a systematic combination of *the scoffers of the last days* for the purpose of *at once* overturning the throne and the altar, of letting loose *at once* those two dogs of hell *anarchy* and *atheism*.

" There was a class of men," says the notorious Condorcet, " which was soon formed in Europe, " with a view not so much to discover and make " deep research after *truth*, as to diffuse it: whose " chief object was to attack *prejudices* in the very " asylums, where the clergy, the schools, the " governments, and the ancient corporations, had " received and protected them: and who made " their glory to consist rather *in destroying popular* " *error*, than in extending the limits of human " knowledge. This, though an indirect method " of forwarding its progress, was not, on that ac- " count, either less dangerous or less useful. In " England, Collins and Bolingbroke; in France,

* See the prophecies relative to *the last times* collected together in *the Third Chapter of this Work*, § I. 2. (3).

 " Bayle,

" Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and " *the schools formed by these men;* combated in " favour of *truth* *. They alternately employed " all the arms, with which learning and philo- " sophy, with which wit and the talent of writing, " could furnish them. *Assuming every tone, taking* " *every shape,* from the ludicrous to the pathetic, " *from the most learned and extensive compilation* " *to the novel or the petty pamphlet of the day;* " covering truth *with a veil, which, sparing the* " *eye that was too weak to bear it, left to the* " *reader the pleasure of guessing it; insidiously* " *caressing prejudices in order to strike at them* " *with more certainty and effect;* seldom menacing " more than one at a time, and that only in part; " sometimes *soothing* the enemies of reason, *by* " *seeming to ask but for a half toleration in reli-* " *gion, or a half liberty in polity; respecting* " *despotism when they combated religious absurdi-* " *ties, and religion when they attacked tyranny;* " *combating* these two pests in their very princi- " ples, *though apparently inveighing against ridi-* " *culous and disgusting abuses; striking at* the " root of those pestiferous trees, *whilst they ap-* " *peared only to wish to lop the straggling* " *branches; at one time, pointing out superstition,* " *which covers despotism with its impenetrable*

* What *the truth* was, for which Voltaire combated, a long life laboriously spent in the service of a hard task-master has amply shewn: and *France* has no less amply tasted the fruits of it.

" *shield,*

" *shield, to the friends of liberty, as the first* " *victim which they are to immolate, the first chain* " *to be cleft asunder; at another, denouncing su-* " *perstition to despots as the real enemy of their* " *power, and alarming them with a representation* " *of its hypocritical plots and sanguinary rage;* " but never ceasing to claim *the independence of* " *reason, and the liberty of the press, as the right* " *and safeguard of mankind;* inveighing with en- " thusiastic energy against the crimes of fanaticism " and tyranny; reprobating every thing which " bore the character of oppression, harshness, or " barbarity, whether in religion, administration, " morals, or laws; commanding kings, warriors, " priests, and magistrates, in the name of nature, " to spare the blood of men; reproaching them " in a strain of the most energetic severity, with " that which their policy or indifference prodigally " lavished on the scaffold, or in the field of battle; " *in fine adopting the words* reason, toleration, " *and* humanity, *as their signal and call to arms.* " Such was the modern philosophy, so much de- " tested by those numerous classes which exist " only by the aid of prejudices. *Its chiefs* had the " art of escaping vengeance, while they exposed " themselves to hatred; of concealing themselves " from persecution, while they made themselves " sufficiently conspicuous to lose nothing of their " glory *."

In

* Cited by Kett from *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, par Condorcet. For the original, see the

In order as it were that the meaning of this rhapsody may not possibly be mistaken, the same Condorcet plainly tells us, what effects *this sort of truth*, propagated by Voltaire, *did* produce. Celebrating the glories and benefits of *the French revolution*, he observes, " that it would have been " impossible to shew in a clearer light the eternal " obligations which human nature has to Voltaire. " Circumstances were favourable. He did not " foresee *all* that he has done, but *he has done all* " *that we now see* *." In order moreover, that we may not too candidly fancy, that Voltaire's zeal was *only* directed against *the abuses of Popery*, while he respected *genuine Christianity:* he himself unequivocally informs us, that *the very Gospel of the Messiah*, whether embraced by protestants or papists, was *the real object* of his animosity †. " I am weary," says the pseudo-philosopher of Ferney, " of hearing people repeat, that *twelve* " *men* have been sufficient to establish Christianity: " and I will prove, that *one* may suffice to over- " throw it—Strike, but conceal your hand—The " mysteries of Mithras are not to be divulged: " the monster must fall pierced by a thousand *in-*

the Annual Register. p. 200; for the extract, Barruel's Mem. of Jacobinism, vol. ii. p. 133.

* *Life of Voltaire*, cited by Kett.

† The reader will have observed, that, in one of the clauses of the foregoing declamation of Condorcet, *religion* is used as the synonym of *religious absurdities;* and *government* and *religion* are declared to be *the two pests*, which the new philosophy combats *in their very principles*.

" *visible*

" *visible* hands: yes, let it fall beneath a thousand " repeated blows—I fear you are not sufficiently " zealous; you bury your talents: you seem only " to *contemn*, whilst you should *abhor* and *destroy* " the monster—Crush the wretch."

By the incessant labours of Voltaire, his diabolical principles, even before the foundation of Weishaupt's order of *the illuminated*, were protected by *the sovereigns* of *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Prussia*, and by an innumerable host of *Landgraves*, *Margraves*, *Dukes*, and *Princes*. They had penetrated into *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Spain*, *Switzerland*, and *Italy*. They had many zealous advocates in *England:* they had thoroughly impregnated *France:* and, in short, had more or less pervaded *the whole Roman earth*, where *the dragon* had now taken his station after his expulsion from the *symbolical heaven*.

It is not however perfectly ascertained, that Voltaire wished for more than the overthrow of *religion* and *royalty*. Proud of his talents, he at first, " did not pretend to enlighten housemaids " and shoemakers, equally contemning the rabble " whether for or against him:" but, after the German union, a yet *more extensive* plan of mischief was resolved upon. The infernal ingenuity of Weishaupt contrived a method of subverting not only *religion* and *royalty*, but *all governments whatsoever:* and Jacobinism, that consummation of united German and French villainy, proposed to set mankind free from *every restraint* both

both of *human* and *divine* law, and to let them loose like wild beasts upon each other, an infuriated herd of *anarchists* and *atheists*.

4. In this manner it was, that *the dragon*, quitting *heaven* for *earth*, and "having great wrath because "he knoweth that he hath but a short time," prepared to vomit against the *symbolical* woman a noisome *flood* of mock philosophers, German and French, illuminated and masonic, "with all their "trumpery;" of philanthropic cut throats, civic thieves, humane anarchists, and candid atheists; of high-born Catalines, and low-born buffoons*; of enlightened prostitutes, and revolutionary politicians; of popish priests, and protestant ecclesiastics, united only by the common bands of apostate profligacy; of Jews, Turks †, infidels, and heretics; of the *catharmata* of the prisons of Lyons and Paris, wretches who, escaping the just sentence of the law, commenced the reformers of the world; in short, of *all* the filth and offscouring of *all* the kennels of *all* the streets of *the great mystical city Babylon*. At the sounding of *the*

* During the French revolution, *a comedian*, dressed as a "priest of the Illuminati, publicly appeared, personally attacking Almighty God, saying, *No, thou dost not exist. If thou "hast power over the thunder-bolts, grasp them, aim them at the "man who dares set thee at defiance in the face of thy altars. But "no, I blaspheme thee, and I still live; no, thou dost not exist"* (Barruel's Mem. of Jacobinism, vol. iii. p. 217.). To the catalogue of low-born buffoons Mr. Thomas Paine may with much propriety be added.

† See Hist. the Interp. vol. ii. p. 267.

third woe-trumpet, the *flood* was at its height; and threatened to carry away in wild indiscriminate confusion every thing sacred and venerable, every thing salutary and dignified, every thing wise, every thing lovely, every thing that adorns this life, every thing that fits us for a better life.

5. Short was the time that elapsed after *the seventh angel* had begun to sound, when *revolutionary France*, in the frenzy of democratic enthusiasm, established *atheism* and *anarchy* by law; held out the right hand of fellowship to the insurgents of every nation; commenced a tremendous massacre of her enslaved citizens; proclaimed the Son of God to be an impostor, and his Gospel a forgery; swore to exterminate *Christianity* and *royalty* from off the face of the earth, as she had blotted them both out of her own dominions; and madly unsheathed the sword against every regularly established government. But the Church of the Lord is founded upon a rock; and he hath promised, that "the gates of hell shall never prevail "against it." Although "the heathen rage, and "the people imagine a lie;" although the destroyers of the earth "set themselves in array, and the rulers take counsel together against Jehovah, and "against his anointed; *Let us break their bands "asunder, and cast away their cords from us:*" yet "he, that sitting in the heavens shall laugh; "the Lord shall have them in derision." Congregated Europe, so God willed, met the infidels in arms. Long and bloody was the contest; for

the

the whole "*earth* helped *the woman.*" Yet, notwithstanding the various successes of the atheistical republic, when the general pacification took place in *the year* 1801, *the earth* had swallowed up *the flood,* which *the dragon* cast out of his mouth. A trial had been made of modern philosophy; and it had been most tremendously proved to be little adapted to promote the happiness of man. Its chief advocates sunk into contempt and oblivion. They seemed, as it were, to have vanished from off the face of the globe. The gross absurdity of their system was detected. Common sense began to resume its empire. The cry of an impracticable equality, and the avowal of a resolution to exterminate Christianity, were heard no more: and, infected as many individuals might be with the principles of infidelity, Atheism itself, as a paramount system, was displaced.

III. "And the dragon was wroth with the "woman: and went to make war with the rem-"nant of her seed, which keep the command-"ments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus "Christ."

We are repeatedly informed by St. John, that *the little book* extends through the whole period of *the* 1260 *days,* though a more particular account of *the last times* under *the seventh trumpet* is reserved for *the prophecy* that immediately succeeds *the little book.* Such being the case, it is evident, that *this war of the dragon against the woman,* being mentioned *at the very end of the whole history of the dragon's*

dragon's machinations, will take place at the *very end* of the 1260 *days*, or, as Daniel expresses it, at *the time of the end* *. But, if it take place at *the time of the end*; it must be the same, as *the expedition of the infidel king* predicted by Daniel, and as *the war* foretold by St. John as about to be undertaken by *a confederacy of the beast, the false prophet, and the kings of the Roman earth*, under *the seventh vial*. As yet therefore it is future. It will be *the last great effort of Satan against the Church* previous to the commencement of the Millennium; an effort made by his two agents, *Infidelity* and *Popery*, unnaturally *then* as *at present* leagued together, to oppress *the faithful worshippers of God*, and to prevent *the restoration of the converted Jews* †.

From the declaration, that it shall be a war against *the remnant of the woman's seed*, and from other parallel declarations ‡, I think we may infer, that it will be a sort of *crusade* or *holy war*; a war, entered upon by *Infidelity* and *Popery*, under the pretext of *religion* and under a pretence of *zeal* for *the catholic Church*, against those that have come out of *the mystic Babylon* and against such of *the Jews* as have been converted to Protestantism.

If I be right in this opinion, *the powerful protestant kingdom of England* will certainly be one of

* I have already observed, that *the four chapters of the little book* run parallel to one another; each extending from *the beginning* to *the end* of *the whole* 1260 *days*.

† More will be said upon this subject hereafter.

‡ These will be considered in a future chapter.

the principal objects against which the wrath of *the dragon* will be directed. Her courage and wisdom have long been the main instruments under God, of confounding all his measures, and of frustrating all his attempts. While he yet reigned in *the symbolical heaven*, *she* was his grand opponent, and thence obtained the glorious title of *the bulwark of the Reformation:* and now that he has been cast out into *the earth*, *she* hath still proved his most indefatigable and successful adversary, blasting his schemes, exposing his nefarious projects, and withering the arm of his wretched vassals. Hence we must expect, that his almost *exclusive* rage will be directed against her.

The end however is not yet. This *war*, *professedly* undertaken against *the woman* and *the remnant of her seed*, has not yet commenced: and, when it *does* commence, whatever temporary and partial success may attend *Antichrist* and his rebel rout, it will eventually and speedily terminate in their confusion and utter overthrow. During the effusion of *the sixth vial*, and towards the close of *the* 1260 *days*, *the dragon* shall begin to gather together, by the agency of secret intrigue, *the beast*, *the false prophet*, and *the kings of the papal earth*, to the appointed place of their destruction at *Armageddon;* and shall cause his minister *the infidel tyrant*, then become *the avowed champion of the false prophet*, to "go forth with great fury to destroy, and *religi-* "*ously* to devote to extermination, many." But, although he shall succeed in "planting the curtains of

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of his "pavilions between the seas in the glorious "holy mountain:" yet in vain shall he "sanctify "war;" in vain shall he assemble his enslaved multitudes against *that mighty maritime nation*, which is destined to take the lead in turning the captivity of God's ancient people. Unable to impede the progress of those "swift messengers" of the Lord "unto a nation dragged away and "plucked, unto a people wonderful from their "beginning hitherto, a nation expecting, expecting, "and trampled under foot, whose land" *the symbolical* "rivers" of foreign invaders "have spoiled "ed;" unable to frustrate the least of the high purposes of Jehovah; this lawless despiser both of things human and things divine shall, in *the fatal battle of Armageddon*, "come to his end, and none "shall help him*."

Into these yet future matters however we must not dare to pry *beyond what is expressly written*. The book of futurity is as yet sealed; and who shall open it before the appointed season? We have in our hands *the prediction of the war between the dragon and the remaining seed of the woman*. We have it in *strict chronological connection* with

* The proposition, that *some great maritime and commercial nation will be very much concerned in bringing about the conversion and restoration of the Jews*, is admirably proved by Bp. Horsley, in his *letter upon the 18th chapter of Isaiah*. Whatever degree of *probability* there might be in *the conjecture*, his Lordship does not venture *to assert*, that *England* will be *this great maritime and commercial nation*; and his prudent reserve upon that point I cannot do better than imitate.

other

other prophecies. We have abundant reason to conclude, that this war will commence at *the close of the* 1260 *days*, in *the last times of atheism and profaneness.* We *know*, that it must commence *after* the *dragon* has been cast out of *heaven*; *after* he has taken his station upon *earth*; *after* he has vomited forth *a flood* against *the mystic woman*; *after* the *earth* has swallowed up *the flood*; *when* every current event bears testimony, that *the third woe-trumpet* is sounding, that *the vials of the last plagues* are pouring out, and that *Satan* is come down to the inhabiters of *the earth* and *the sea* having great wrath; and *when* prophetic truth and chronological computation declare with united voice, that "he hath but a short time," that *the period of the great Apostasy* is nearly expired.

To this era, thus variously pointed out, *the time of the end*, or *the close of the* 1260 *days*, alone corresponds in every particular. May we, like Daniel, "rest, and stand in our lot at the end of the days."

SECTION III.

Concerning the ten-horned beast of the sea.

The prophet, after having conducted us as it were behind the scenes, and shewn us that every string both of *the great Apostasy* and of *the tyranny of Antichrist* is in reality worked by *the infernal serpent*, next proceeds to bring us acquainted with the characters of the *ostensible* agents, *by whose instrumentality*

tality and *through whose instigation* the Church was to be in a persecuted state through *the long period of* 1260 *years.*

" And I stood* upon the sand of the sea, and " saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven " heads and ten horns, and upon his heads the " name of blasphemy. And the beast, which I " saw, was like unto a leopard, and his feet were " as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth " of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, " and his throne, and great authority. And I saw " one of his heads as it were wounded to death; " and his deadly wound was healed: and all the " world wondered after the beast. And they wor- " shipped the dragon, which gave great power unto " the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast?

* The Latin copies, the Alexandrian M.S. and the Syriac, read *and he stood*, meaning *the dragon*: and accordingly join the clause *and he stood upon the sand of the sea* to the preceding chapter (Pol. Synop. in loc.). I know not however why we should give up the common reading, which is that of all the Greek copies with the single exception of the Alexandrian followed by Aldus, and which agrees remarkably well with the context. Mr. Mede wishes to adopt it, because he thinks, that it confirms his interpretation of the preceding chapter, and shews that *the rise of the ten-horned beast* is posterior to *the war of the dragon with the woman.* This however it certainly cannot do, even if it *be* adopted: for, as I have already stated very sufficiently, *the woman's sojourn in the wilderness of* 1260 *days* plainly intimates, that *the war of the dragon* is the very same period as *the* 42 *months tyranny of the beast;* and, consequently, that *the war* cannot in point of time precede *the tyranny*, as Mr. Mede and Bp. Newton suppose.

" whe

"who is able to make war with him? And there "was given unto him a mouth speaking great "things and blasphemies; and power was given "unto him to practise* prosperously forty and "two months. And he opened his mouth in blas- "phemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and "his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven. "And it was given unto him to make war with the "saints, and to overcome them: and power was "given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and na- "tions. And all that dwell upon the earth shall "worship him, whose names are not written in the "book of life of the Lamb slain from the founda- "tion of the world. If any man have an ear, let "him ear. He, that leadeth into captivity, shall go "into captivity: he, that killeth with the sword, "must be killed with the sword. Here is the pati- "ence and the faith of the saints."

I. In the preceding chapter, *the dragon* is represented as persecuting *the woman* with his *seven heads* and *ten horns:* here we have the symbol of

* See Bp. Newton in loc. The word ποιησαι does not so much describe his *existence*, as his *prosperity*. At the close of *the* 42 *months* the judgments of God will begin to go forth against him: and he is then considered, if I may use the expression, as *dead in law*, although some time will elapse before he is finally slain. There is reason to believe from Daniel, that this time, which he styles *the time of the end*, which is the period of *God's great controversy with the nations*, and which synchronizes with *the last vial*, will occupy a space of at least 30 *years* (See Dan. xii. 11, 12.). Indeed *the whole time of the end* seems to occupy a space of 75 *years*.

a beast,

a beast, which has likewise *seven heads* and *ten horns*. Now, since *the dragon* is declared to be *the devil*, *the heads* and *horns*, which he is described as using against *the woman*, must be *the heads* and *horns* of *some power* subservient to his views. *This power* is now brought upon the stage.

1. According to Mr. Kett, "*the first beast of the* "*Revelation*, and *the little horn of Daniel*, are ge- "nerally allowed to mean *the same power*, what- "ever *that power* may be*:" and he afterwards asserts, that *this ten-horned beast* is *the Papacy* †, or, as he terms it, *the papal Antichrist* ‡.

2. Nearly the same opinion is maintained by Mr. Galloway. He does not indeed allow, that *the first beast of the Revelation* is the same as *the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast*, for he asserts that *that little horn* is *the revolutionary power of France* §: but he has written a whole dissertation for the express purpose of shewing, that *the ten-horned apocalyptic beast* is *the Papacy* ‖.

3. Bp. Newton, with much more propriety than either of these two authors, observes, that "no

* Hist. the Interp. Vol. i. p. 385.

† Yet he elsewhere teaches us, that *the little horn* is the same as *the second apocalyptic beast*, which he conceives to be *French Infidelity* [Ibid. p. 347.]. I have cited the whole passage, where this assertion is made, in Chap. iv. § I. 1.

‡ Ibid. p. 392—and Vol. ii. p. 1—66.

§ This point has already been fully discussed in Chap. iv. § I. 2.

‖ Prophetic Hist. of the Church of Rome.

" doubt is to be made, that *this beast* was designed " to represent *the Roman Empire;* for thus far " both ancients and moderns, papists and protes- " tants, are agreed *." Had his Lordship steadily adhered to this simple, and indeed undeniable, proposition, I should have been able to sanction my own views of the subject with the authority of one of our ablest commentators upon prophecy: but, quitting the assertion with which he originally set out, he soon entirely diverts the attention of his reader from *the great secular Roman beast* (as the Bishop himself † styles it) to *that spiritual power* which Daniel symbolizes by *the little horn of the beast.* He commences his discussion with saying very truly, that *the beast* is *the Roman empire*; and *this beast* he afterwards pronounces no less truly to be *a secular beast:* yet, in the course of a very few pages, he informs us, that *the beast* is evidently *the little horn*, which he had already proved with irrefragable arguments to be *the Papacy.* Now *the beast* is said by St. John to be the same as *his own last sovereignty* or *head* ‡: hence the Bishop, having

* Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

† Ibid. Mr. Mede, in a similar manner, although his opinion be the same as that of the Bishop, specially styles the first apocalyptic beast *the secular beast*, and the second *the ecclesiastical beast.* See his Comment. Apoc. in loc.

‡ " The beast, that was, and is not, even he is the eighth " *king*, and is of the seven" (Rev. xvii. 11.). Some suppose that this is spoken by way of synecdoche; but I know not what right we have to tamper with the plain declaration of the Apostle (See

ing pronounced *the beast* to be *the little horn* or *the Papacy*, of course pronounces *the Papacy* to be *the last head* likewise; that is to say, he makes *a spiritual power* to be *the last head of the beast* and consequently *the whole beast*, notwithstanding he had declared that *this very beast* is *a secular empire.*

(1.) Respecting this opinion it may be observed, that, if *the beast* be *a secular empire*, it is impossible that his *last head*, which is identified with himself, should be a *spiritual* power; because, if that were the case, *the beast* would no longer be a *secular* empire, but a *spiritual* one. *Popery* indeed, like *Mohammedism*, is symbolized, merely as *an ecclesiastical kingdom*, by *a horn originally small* and *afterwards becoming so powerful, as to have a look more stout than its fellows, and as to influence the actions of the whole beast;* nor is there any inconsistency in representing *symbolically* what has *really*

(See Pol. Synop. in loc.). I consider it as a very leading part of the prophecy, and as being studiously introduced to prevent any possibility of mistake respecting *the power* intended by *the last head. The temporal dominion* of all *the six first heads*, springing up as they respectively did before the division of the Empire, extended over *the whole of the Empire:* and we are here assured by St. John, that *the temporal dominion* of *the last head*, notwithstanding the division of the Empire into *the ten horns*, shall extend over *the whole of the Empire* likewise. Would we then discover *the last head*, we must seek for a power whose dominions have been commensurate with *the whole Western Empire:* for *this last head*, whatever it may be, is, like *its six predecessors*, to be *the whole beast.*

 happened,

happened, namely *the rise of an ecclesiastical kingdom out of a secular empire:* but I can form no idea how it is possible, that *the papal horn* should be considered as *the last head of the secular beast,* when *that head* is declared to be the same at its first rise as *the whole secular beast* himself. *The Pope* can only be *the last head of the secular beast* either in his *spiritual* or in his *secular* character. He cannot in his *spiritual:* because *the last head of the beast* is to be *the whole beast;* and no ingenuity can shew, that *an ecclesiastical kingdom, as such,* is the same as *a secular empire.* He cannot in his *secular,* as sovereign of *St. Peter's patrimony:* both because it is unreasonable to esteem a petty *temporal* prince the head of a great *secular* empire; and because, as I have just observed, *the last head* was to be *the whole secular beast* at its first rise, which *the Pope* as a temporal prince never was.

(2.) I am perfectly aware, that to this objection Bp. Newton would reply, that *the Pope* is "*the* "*head* of *the state* as well as of *the church,* the "*king of kings,* as well as the *bishop of bishops* *;" that there is no contradiction in a person being at once *the head* both of *the state* and *the church;* and consequently that *the Pope,* although a *spiritual* character, may be justly esteemed *the head of the secular beast* in his capacity of "*king of kings.*" I am aware likewise that the canonists assert, that "there is no sovereign power but in *the Pope;*"

* Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

and

and that *the Popes* have repeatedly maintained, that all regal authority is derived from them, as in that remarkable instance when *Boniface the eighth wrote to Philip the Fair*, " We will have thee " know that thou art subject to us both in *tempo-* " *rals* and *spirituals**." But to all such arguments as these the answer is sufficiently obvious: there is a very wide difference between *only claiming*, and *really possessing*, temporal supremacy. Now *the Popes* have been sufficiently importunate in *claiming* the title and authority of " *king of kings*;" and, had they succeeded in *establishing* such a claim, I could readily have allowed that they might be, what Bp. Newton supposes them to be, *the last head of the secular beast*†. But, if we consult history,

* Whitaker's Comment. p. 229—234, 256, 257.

† Mr. Whitaker, who marrs Bp. Newton's much more simple interpretation by supposing that *the Papacy* is *the Dictatorial head revived*, cites Dr. Barrow as asserting, that, in the last Lateran council, " one bishop styled the Pope *prince of the world*;" " another orator called him *king of kings, and monarch of the* " *earth*; another great prelate said of him, that *he had all power* " *above all powers both of heaven and earth*" (Whitaker's Comment. p. 256.). He likewise cites a sermon of *Pope Innocent the third*, as containing the following passage. " The church, who " is my spouse, does not at her marriage come to me empty " handed. She has bestowed a precious, an invaluable, dowry " on me; an absolute power in spirituals, an extensive autho- " rity in temporals. She has given me the mitre for the ensign " of my spiritual, and the crown of my temporal, jurisdiction; " the mitre as priest, the crown as king; constituting me his " vicar, who bears this inscription written on his thigh and his " vestment,

history, we shall find that the very reverse is the case. The claim has often been *made*, but it has never been

" vestment, *King of kings, and Lord of lords*" (Ibid. p. 234.). He further cites a bull of *Sixtus the fifth* against *the king of Navarre* and *the Prince of Condé*, wherein it is declared that " the " authority delegated to St. Peter and his successors, by the in- " finite power of the Eternal, is above all power of the kings of " the earth; that theirs it is to inforce the observance, and to " punish the infringers of it, by pulling them from their thrones, " how powerful soever they be, and casting them to the earth as " ministers of Satan" (Ibid. p. 229.). In all these declarations however I can discover nothing like a proof, that *the Pope* is *head of the state*, and therefore *a head of the secular beast*. I learn from them most undeniably, that *the Popes* have repeatedly *claimed* a temporal, no less than a spiritual supremacy: but, before I can allow that they constitute *a head of the beast*, I must have it shewn to me that their claim has been *allowed*. Till this be done, we are only informed what *the Popes* have been *styled* by themselves and their flatterers, not what they *really are* and *have been*. Exactly the same remark applies to Mr. Sharpe's observations upon the same subject. *The Pope* may call himself *Rector Orbis*, and *claim* an authority over all the kings of the earth, so long as he pleases; but this *alone* will never prove that he *is* the ruler of the world, or that any such authority is *allowed* to him (Append. to an Inquiry into the description of Babylon, p. 11.). It is not unworthy of notice, that even *the claim* of temporal supremacy was not made by *the Popes*, till a considerable period after they had been declared *supreme head of the Church*. The insolent *Gregory the second*, throughout his whole quarrel with *Leo Isauricus* respecting image-worship in *the year* 727, though he vehemently claimed the power of excommunicating even sovereign princes, presumed not to assert that he possessed any *temporal supremacy* over *the Emperor*. In one of his epistles to *Leo*, " the limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers " are defined by the Pontiff. To the former he appropriates " the

been allowed * by the great European powers. Consequently, if it has never been *allowed*, but on the contrary strenuously *resisted*, with what propriety can we admit the scheme; which makes *the Pope* to be *the last head of the secular beast*, as being " the head of *the state* as well as of *the church*, " the *king of kings*, as well as *bishop of bishops?*"

When *Pope Hildebrand* excommunicated and deposed *the Emperor Henry*, that prince called an assembly, and asked their opinion respecting the pretended right of *the Pope* to depose *an Emperor:* upon which, all, both Germans and Italians, unanimously pronounced, that *the Pope*, instead of having power over *the Emperor*, owed him obedience †. So likewise, although the *Emperor Frederic* condescended to hold *the Pope*'s stirrup, he first declared, that this was no mark of homage, but only a compliment paid to his holiness as the spiritual representative of Christ ‡. *The same Emperor*, in order

" the body; to the latter, the soul: the sword of justice is in " the hands of the magistrate: the more formidable weapon of " excommunication is entrusted to the clergy; and, in the exer- " cise of their divine commission, a zealous son will not spare " his offending father: the successors of St. Peter may lawfully " chastise the kings of the earth" (Hist. of Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 135.). Indeed several years afterwards, it is sufficiently manifest, that *the Pope* was a mere feudal vassal of Charlemagne, whom he acknowledged to be his rightful sovereign. See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 236, 237.

* At least never allowed with any continuance, and certainly *never* allowed by all the great powers *at the same time.*

† Modern Univ. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 86.

‡ Ibid. p. 118.

to

to shew his independence of *the Pope*, repudiated his wife by his own authority * : and, when *the Pope* had presumed to assert that he bestowed upon him *the Empire* as a fief of *the holy see*, he published a manifesto, in which he openly gave the lie to all those who should dare to say, that he held his crown of any other than God himself; declaring, that he would rather resign it altogether, than suffer it to be debased in his possession †. In a similar manner, when *Pope Innocent the third* excommunicated and deposed *the Emperor Philip*, the German nobility of his party complained in a letter to *the Pope;* that his holiness had intermeddled in the election of *a king of the Romans*, contrary to the rights of the German princes, and the duty of his own pontificate, which originally depended upon the imperial crown ‡. So again, when *Pope Honorius* threatened to excommunicate *the Emperor Frederic the second* on account of his expelling from their sees some bishops who were creatures of *the Pope;* he was plainly informed, that the Emperors had always possessed an authority and sovereign jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical state, that his grand-father and father had maintained this jurisdiction in full force, and that he neither could nor would divest himself of it to the prejudice of the Empire and his successors §. *The Emperor Albert* indeed was compelled by the exigencies of the times to own, that

* Modern Univ Hist. vol. xxix. p. 117.

† Ibid. p. 120, 121. ‡ Ibid. p. 168. § Ibid. p. 186.

kings

kings and *emperors* received the power of the temporal sword from *the Pope**: but afterwards, when *Pope John* declared *the imperial dignity* to be a fief of *the holy see*, the *Emperor Louis* assembled all the learned men of Germany both of the clergy and the laity, to give their opinion of the bull which contained such a claim. These all concluded, that it was unjust, unreasonable, and contrary to the Christian religion, as tending to abolish the sovereign power of princes; and the states of *the Empire* requested *the Emperor* to take care that the imperial dignity should not be trampled upon, nor the Germanic liberty reduced to bondage †. Finding however that *the Popes* still from time to time renewed their pretensions, the princes of *the Empire*, ecclesiastical as well as secular, at length enacted the famous constitution by which *the Empire* was declared to be for ever independent of *the Pope* ‡.

If from *the Empire* we pass to *Hungary*, we shall find, that *the temporal supremacy* of *the Pope* was in *the year* 1303 so steadily resisted in that country, that his holiness himself was excommunicated by the Hungarian bishops, in consequence of his having presumed to lay the city of Buda under an interdict, because his pretended right to dispose of the crown of that kingdom was resolutely denied §.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 257.

† Ibid. p. 294, 295, 296. ‡ Ibid. p. 311.

§ Ibid. vol. xlii. p. 32.

In

In our own country, when *Pope Hildebrand* summoned *William the Conqueror* to do homage for *the kingdom of England*, as a fief of *the Roman see*, *William* replied, that he held his crown only of God and his own sword; and, when the nuncio threatened him with the censures of the Church, he published an edict forbidding his subjects to acknowledge *any Pope* but such as he should approve, or to receive any order from Rome without his permission *. *England* indeed submitted to *the Pope*, in the disgraceful reign of *king John:* but, in that of his successor, the English agents at the council of Lyons protested against the act; and declared, that *John* had no right without the consent of his barons to reduce the kingdom to so ignominious a servitude †.

As for *France*, when *Boniface the eighth* claimed a temporal superiority over *Philip the Fair*, the states of the kingdom formally disavowed the authority of *the Pope*, and maintained the independent sovereignty of that prince ‡.

So likewise, when *Gregory the seventh* claimed the same superiority over the different kingdoms of *Spain*, *Don Alonso* and *the other sovereigns* unanimously declared, that they were independent princes, and would own no superior upon earth §.

* Smollet's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 418.

† Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxix. p. 174.

‡ Ibid. vol. xxiii. p. 385.

§ Ibid. vol. xx. p. 62.

Thus

Thus it appears, when we descend to facts, upon what very slender grounds Bp. Newton makes *the Pope* to be *the last head of the secular beast*, "the "head of *the state* as well as of *the church*, the "*king of kings* as well as the *bishop of bishops.*"

(3.) Nor is this the only objection to which the system of Bp. Newton is liable. In a prophecy of Daniel already considered, *four great beasts*, or *universal empires*, are described as rising successively out of the *sea*. The *last* of them, like *the apocalyptic beast* now under consideration, is said to have *ten horns*, to be exceeding terrible, and to be different from those which preceded it. Hence I collect, that *the fourth beast of Daniel*, and *the first beast of St. John*, are designed to symbolize *the same power*. No doubt however is entertained, that *Daniel's fourth beast* is *the Roman empire:* it follows therefore, agreeably to Bp Newton's *original* proposition, that *St. John's first beast* is *the Roman empire* likewise. And this opinion is decidedly established by the express declaration of the latter prophet, that his *ten-horned beast* was not only in existence under his *sixth head* at the time when *he* wrote, but that he had even *previously* been in existence during an indefinite space of time under his *five first heads* *; a description, which plainly can accord with no power except *the Roman empire*. Now *the fourth beast of Daniel*

* "Five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come." Rev. xvii. 10.

is

is said to have *a little horn*, springing up among his *ten larger horns;* which *little horn* has been shewn to be *the Papacy*. If then *the little horn* be *the Papacy*, and if *Daniel's fourth beast* be not *the Papacy*, but *the Roman empire* out of which *the Papacy* sprang; *St. John's first beast*, being the same as *Daniel's fourth beast*, must assuredly be *the Roman empire* likewise, and therefore cannot be *the Papacy*. To me, I must be free to confess, it is a matter of no small wonder, that *the first beast of St. John* should ever have been thought to symbolize *the Papacy:* for, if *this beast* be the same as *Daniel's fourth beast*, a point maintained even by Bp. Newton himself, he certainly cannot be likewise the same as only *the little horn* of *that very identical beast*. The reason is manifest: such a supposition as this does in fact make *Daniel's fourth beast* precisely the same as *his own little horn;* a supposition to the full as unwarrantable, as to conclude that he is the same as *any one* of his other *ten horns**. Yet does Bp. Newton not

* This opinion cannot be better confuted than in the following passage. "Si Malvendæ et Lessio fides habentur "bestia hæc Johannis decacornis et septicepts nihil aliud erit "quam cornu illud parvulum bestiæ quartæ Danielis: et "proinde decem cornu apud Danielem non erunt cornua "bestiæ, sed parvi istius corniculi, quod tamen post illa de-"cem exortum est, septemque capita apud Johannem ejusdem "corniculi capita erunt. Quo quid absurdius? Certè si "bestia illa quarta Romanum est imperium, sunt hæc cornua "ipsius bestiæ, h. e. Romani statûs, vel reges provinciarum, "in

not regarding this manifest violation of symbolical analogy and figurative propriety, adopt the inconsistent scheme of typifying *the Papacy* both by *the eleventh horn of a beast*, and by *the identical beast* himself to whom *that eleventh horn* belongs *.

II. *The*

" in quas imperium illum dividendum est. Downham. apud Pol. Synop. in loc.

* It was observed to me with his usual acuteness by Bp. Horsley, in a conversation upon this very subject, that it is impossible for *one of the horns of a symbolical beast* to mean the same thing as *the symbolical beast himself*. *A head*, importing as it does *a form of government*, must necessarily be in some sort identified with *the beast* or *empire* over which it presides, because they jointly form only *a single body politic*: but *a horn*, importing *one of the kingdoms which have sprung out of an empire*, can never be identified with *the whole empire* of which it constitutes only *a single part*. Hence St. John does not say, that *the six first heads of the beast* are respectively the same as *the beast himself*; because such an observation would have been plainly superfluous, *the empire* under all *its six heads* being in an undivided state, and therefore of course universally subject to *its six successive forms of government*: but he especially observes, that *the last head* should be *the beast himself*; because, although *the empire* previous to the rise of *this last head* had branched out into *ten horns*, yet *this last mighty head* should at its first rise so completely swallow up most of *the ten separate horns*, as to become, like *each of its six predecessors*, the *whole beast*, however unexpected such an event might be after the division of the empire. *A power* may indeed be symbolized both by *the little horn of one beast*, and by *the whole body of another distinct beast*, as is the case with *the spiritual kingdom of the Papacy* expanding into *a spiritual empire*: but it certainly cannot be symbolized both by *the horn*

II. *The seven-headed and ten-horned apocalyptic beast* then is the same as *the fourth and ten-horned beast of Daniel:* in other words, he is *the Roman empire;* which, according to the sure declaration of prophecy, is *the last universal empire* with which *the Church* shall be concerned. Daniel does not mention

horn of a beast and by *the very identical beast to which that horn is attached.*

Mr. Bicheno adopts and states the commonly received interpretation in such a manner as to make it plainly confute itself. " What is here (Dan. vii. 8) represented under the " emblem of *a horn of the fourth beast* is the same tyranny " which is shewn to John (Rev. xiii. 1—10.) as *a beast.* " In this all our best commentators are agreed. Nor let it " seem strange, that what is here prefigured by *a horn of the* " *fourth beast,* the Roman dominion, should be represented " in another vision as *a beast with seven heads and ten horns*" (Signs of the Times, Part i. p. 13.). To me, I must confess, such a mode of exposition appears *very* strange. *The ten-horned beast* of Daniel is manifestly *the ten-horned beast* of St. John: how then can *the little horn,* which sprang up long after the rise of *the beast,* be *the beast himself;* and how can *the apocalyptic beast,* six of whose heads according to Mr. Bicheno's own plan are *secular* heads, symbolize nothing except the *ecclesiastical* Roman power?

Mr. Bicheno, in his reply to me, gives up the idea that *the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast* is *altogether* the same as *the first apocalyptic beast.* He now maintains, that " *the first* " *apocalyptic beast* is, in a *certain sense,* the same as *the little* " *horn,* yet not *precisely* so. It is a new symbol, in which " the characters of both *the beast of Daniel* and *its little horn* " are blended. It is the same tyranny as *the horn,* communi- " cating its spirit and character, so to speak, to all the anti- " christian kingdoms, and so uniting itself with all their go- " vernments,

mention *the seven heads of this beast*, nor does he specially define *his form;* he only observes, that he was dreadful, terrible, and strong, and that he was diverse from *all the beasts* that were before him: but St. John amply supplies this deficiency, by informing us, that he had not only *the ten horns* noticed by Daniel, but likewise *seven heads;* and that *his shape* was compounded of *all the three beasts* which preceded him, *the Babylonian lion*, the *Medo-Persian bear*, and *the Macedonian leopard.*

1. This general position being established with the full *original* consent even of Bp. Newton himself, the first point to be considered is, in what sense St. John could be said prophetically to behold the rise of *the Roman empire*, when it had already been in existence many ages before *he* was born, and even when he himself unequivocally declares such to be the case *.

(1.) The Apostle affords us two distinct solutions of this important question: *first* by teaching us that *the beast*, after *his rise from the sea*, should have power given him to practise prosperously *forty-two months* or 1260 *days*, the very period

" vernments, as to identify itself with them; and by which " union they become politico-ecclesiastical, and participate in " all its blasphemies, corruptions, and persecuting enormities." This definition seems to me so extremely perplexed, and so replete with a kind of contradictory confusion, that it works no conviction in my mind. It is however considered at large in my answer to Mr. Bicheno.

* See Rev. xvii. 10.

during

during which *his little horn* was to carry on its persecutions against *the saints**; and *afterwards* by telling us, " that *this same beast* " was, and is " not, and yet should be." Hence it appears, that, in *some* sense or *another*, the *Roman beast* was to possess a wonderful peculiarity, which should most essentially distinguish him from his *three predecessors in universal empire:* he was first *to exist;* afterwards he was *to cease to exist;* and lastly he was *again to come into existence.*

" The mystery of the woman, and of the beast " that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads " and ten horns. The beast, that thou sawest, " was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the " abyss, and go into perdition: and they, that " dwell on the earth, shall wonder, whose names " were not written in the book of life from the " foundation of the world, when they behold the " beast, that was, and is not, and yet is."

From comparing this passage with St. John's assertion, that *he saw the beast arise out of the sea,* and that *having thus arisen* he was to possess power *forty-two months;* it will be manifest, that *the second period of the beast's existence* begins with, terminates with, and is therefore exactly commensurate with, *the* 1260 *years of the great*

* *The Roman beast* revived, and began to *practise,* when he delivered *the saints* into the hand of *his little horn:* consequently *the period of his practising,* and *the reign of his little horn,* are necessarily commensurate. See Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

Apostasy;

Apostasy: consequently, that it precisely coincides with the tyrannical reign of *his own little horn* during *a time, times, and half a time;* with the treading of *the holy city* under foot *during forty two months;* with the prophesying of *the two witnesses during* 1260 *days;* and with the flight of *the woman* into *the wilderness* from the face of *the dragon* during *the same period**.

(2.) The near alliance of *the Apostasy* and *the beast* will lead us to the right understanding of what is meant by his *existence,* his *non-existence,* and his *renewed existence* †. "*A beast,*" as Bp. Newton most truly observes, and as I have already very fully stated ‡, "*A beast,* in the prophetic "style, is a *tyrannical idolatrous empire:* the "*kingdom of God and of Christ is* never repre-"sented under *the image of a beast.*" This being the case, *an empire* is said *to continue in existence as a beast,* so long as it is *a tyrannically idolatrous empire:* when it puts away its *idolatry and tyranny,* and turns to the God of heaven, *the beast,* or those qualities whereby the empire *was* a beast, *ceases to exist,* though *the empire itself* may still

* See Chap. v. § II. 1. (1.) (2.) (3.). This coincidence of times seems to have been the principal reason why *the ten-horned beast* has been so frequently confounded with his own *little horn* or *the Papacy:* each was to continue in power 1260 *days.*

† "— the beast that was, and is not, and yet is." The Complutensian edition reads "was, and is not, and yet shall "be."

‡ See Chap. ii. § II. 6.

remain: and, when it resumes *its idolatry and tyranny*, though they may not perhaps bear precisely the same names as *its old idolatry and tyranny*, it then *recommences its existence in its original character of a beast*. So singular a circumstance as this never happened either to *the Babylonian beast*, *the Medo-Persian beast*, or *the Macedonian beast*. Whatever may have been the sentiments of Nebuchadnezzar, Darius the Mede, and his nephew Cyrus; whatever decrees they may have promulged in favour of true religion throughout their widely extended dominions; whatever privileges they may have granted to the ancient people of God: the voice of history bears ample testimony, that their subjects, *as a body*, never ceased to be idolaters *. But this singular circumstance *has* happened to *the Roman beast*, and to *the Roman beast alone*. *That empire* was originally *a beast*, by its profession of paganism, and by its persecution of *the first set of men of understanding* mentioned by Daniel †: it ceased to be *a beast* under Constantine the great, when it embraced Christianity, and became the protector of the Church: and it again relapsed into *its bestial state*, when it

* Though the Persians, in the time of Xerxes's famous expedition, were professed iconoclasts; yet, notwithstanding Dr. Hyde's laborious attempt to prove the contrary, I cannot but think it sufficiently evident, that they worshipped, possibly not altogether excluding the true God, the Sun, the Moon, and the Host of Heaven, in conjunction with their diluvian ancestors.

† Dan. xi. 33.

set

set up the tyrannical supremacy of *the Pope*, adopted the worship of saints and martyrs, and bitterly persecuted *the second set of men of understanding* *. Now *the beast* erected the spiritual domination of *the Pope* in *the year* 606, by conferring upon him the prerogatives of universal episcopacy. Consequently *then* it was that *the beast* arose out of *the sea*, or out of *the turbulent times of Gothic invasion*, in *his third or revived state:* and he may be considered as having firmly taken his station upon the shore, when in *the year* 607 idolatry was openly reestablished in the old heathen Pantheon. In this state, *the dragon*, or *Satan*, is said to have given him "his power, and his throne, and great autho-" rity;" in the same manner as he had given them to him before, when the resolute advocate of paganism †.

2. The

* Dan. xi. 35.

† It is in *this same third* or *papally idolatrous state* that *the beast* "shall go into perdition," or be utterly destroyed, as St. John in perfect harmony with Daniel specially informs us (Rev. xvii. 11.—Dan. vii. 11.). After his division into *ten kingdoms*, and "because of the voice of the great words which *the horn* "spake;" that is to say, when he has again become *a beast* by upholding the papal superstition, as he was before *a beast* by supporting the abominations of paganism: in this last state he goeth into perdition. "He shall not, as he did before, cease "for a time, and revive again; but shall be destroyed for ever" (Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xvii.). Hence we may conclude, that, since *the beast* is to be destroyed on account of *his little horn*, he will continue firmly leagued with *his little horn* to the very *time of the end*. Accordingly, as Daniel describes *the beast*

2. The next point to be considered is the symbolical import of *the seven heads* of *the beast*, and especially of his *last head*.

(1.) It is to be observed, that, although *the seven-headed and ten-horned beast* arose out of *the sea* in the year wherein *the Apostasy* commenced; we are not on that account to suppose, either that *all his seven heads* were *then* in existence, or *all his ten original horns* *. The symbol of *an Empire* must be so

and *his little horn* as perishing together; so St. John teaches us, that *the same beast* and *the false prophet* shall be involved in one common ruin fighting against the Word of God (Rev. xix. 20.). The necessary result of this statement is, that we must not expect any further reformation; but, on the contrary, that the followers of *the Pope* will become hardened in their false doctrines and judicially blind to the clear denunciations of Scripture, so that, like the Jews of old, they shall unwittingly accomplish the oracles of God. As blindness in part hath happened unto Israel; so, because the Papists received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, God hath sent them strong delusion that they should believe a lie (See 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.). Mr. Whitaker, to whom the thanks of every protestant, particularly at the present juncture, are due for his well timed and masterly statement of the abominations of Popery, observes, that "above a cen-
"tury ago Puffendorff expressed an opinion, that for the future,
"in all probability, *the Pope* would by degrees gain ground on
"the protestants; and stated what makes any real reformation
"in the doctrine of his followers impossible: namely, that, if
"it should once be granted, that *the Pope* has hitherto main-
"tained but one single erroneous point, his infallibility would
"then fall to the ground; and, if that were removed, the whole
"superstructure of his ecclesiastical sovereignty, which is
"founded on it, must fall too." Comment. p. 460.

* *Two* of *the three horns*, which were to be plucked up before *the little horn*, namely *the kingdom of the Heruli*, and *the kingdom*

of

so constructed as to take in the whole history of *that Empire:* whence, if we contemplate it at any given period previous to its final dissolution; *some members of the symbol* will unavoidably relate to *past events, some to present events,* and *others* to *future events.* This, we are specially informed by St. John, is the case with *the present symbol.*

" Here is the mind, which hath wisdom. The " seven heads are seven mountains, on which the " woman sitteth. They are also seven kings (or " forms of government): five are fallen, and one " is, and the other is not yet come; and, when he " cometh, he must continue a short space. And the " beast, that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, " and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition."

From this passage, we learn that *the seven heads* have *a two-fold mystical signification;* alluding both to *the seven hills* upon which *the city of Rome* was founded, and to *seven different forms of governments* which either had arisen or should rise in *the Roman Empire.* At the time when St. John wrote, *five of these forms* had already fallen, and *the sixth* was then in actual existence: there is no difficulty therefore, and consequently no dispute, in settling what is meant by *the first six heads of the beast.* Two Roman historians indeed have satisfactorily

of the Ostrogoths, were fallen previous to *the year* 606; as were likewise *five* out of *the seven heads,* or *forms of government.* Sir Isaac Newton justly remarks, that, " whatever was their num- " ber afterwards, they *(the ten horns)* are still called *the ten* " *kings,* from their first number."

decided

decided this point for us, by teaching us, that, previous to *the sixth* or *imperial form* under which St. John lived, their country had been subject to exactly *five others;* namely *kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs,* and *military tribunes with consular authority**. The only point then, liable to dispute, is, *what form of Roman government* is intended by *the last head:* and here, I think, there cannot be much dispute, if we only compare *prophecy* and *history* together.

(2.) I have stated, that *the beast* arose out of *the sea* in *the year* 606, when he delivered *the saints* into the hand of *his little horn* by conferring upon *the Pope* the right of universal supremacy. Then it was, that he relapsed into his bestial state; and consequently then it was, that he began to exist afresh. Hence, since *five of his heads* had fallen in the days of St. John; and since *the same imperial sixth head,* that was originally *an idolatrous head* and afterwards ceased to be so, constituted *the Bishop of Rome* a tyrant over *the Church:* hence, I say, it appears, that *the beast* began to exist afresh under *his sixth:* that is to say, *the beast* both *was,* is *not,* and *began again to be,* under *one* and *the same sixth head:* consequently, in point of chronology, when *the beast* revived, *his last head* had not arisen. In the symbol however it was necessary that he should be represented complete in *all* his members, though *some* of those members, as I have just observed, unavoidably relate to *past* events, some to *present* events,

* Liv. Hist. l. 6. c. 1.—Tacit. Annal. l. 1. in initio. cited by Bp. Newton.

and

and some to *future* events. Accordingly *the beast*, when he emerged from *the sea*, appeared to St. John complete with *all his seven heads*, notwithstanding *five of those heads* were already fallen, and notwithstanding *the last head* was not as yet in existence. In order to assist us in our inquiries after *this last head*, the prophet observes, that, whenever it *did* come, it should be *a double head*, consisting of *the seventh head* melting, as it were, into *the eighth head;* and that it should likewise be *the beast that was, and is not:* it should, in some sense or another, be *the beast that was and is not*, although *the beast* revived under *his sixth head;* and it should moreover be so powerful at its first rise, that it should in a manner be identified with *the whole beast himself*, notwithstanding his *ten horns*, and his additional *little horn* mentioned by Daniel.

3. I know not any better method of ascertaining what power is intended by *the last head of the beast* or *the last form of Roman government*, than simply to follow the current of history from the days of St. John. *The sixth* or *imperial* head was flourishing in the height of its glory when the Apostle wrote; and we know, that *the last head* had not then arisen, both from the testimony of history, and from the unequivocal declaration that it was "not yet come." Now the first remarkable event, which St. John notices in the history of *the sixth head*, is, that it was *wounded to death* or *slain* by the stroke of *a sword**.

* Rev. xiii. 3, 14.

Before

Before any attempt can be made to explain this part of the prophecy, we must endeavour to acquire a clear idea in the abstract, of what is meant in the language of symbols by *a beast's being slain;* for, till this idea be acquired, it will be a vain labour to seek for what we may perhaps *fancy* to be a corresponding event.

A beast is *a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The life of a beast* therefore, or *the vital principle whereby he is a beast,* must necessarily mean *his tyranny and idolatry.* Consequently *the death of a beast* must be *the very reverse of his life:* that is to say, *a beast is slain,* not when *a temporal empire is subverted,* but when *he ceases to be a beast by abjuring his idolatry and tyranny.* So again: as *the death of a beast* is *his abjuration of tyranny and idolatry, the revival of a beast* is *his relapsing a second time into tyranny and idolatry.* In short, the symbolical imagery of *a beast being slain,* of *his continuing dead for a certain space,* and of *his afterwards coming to life again,* is precisely equivalent to the literal prediction respecting *the Roman beast,* that, as *he had been,* so *he should cease to be,* and *afterwards should again be* *. This being the case, *the ten-horned*

* Vide supra Chap. 2. I shall here once more cite Mr. Mede's excellent definition of *figurative death.* "*Mori* ea notione dici-"tur qui in quocunque statu constitutus, sive politico sive ec-"clesiastico, seu quovis alio, desinit esse quod fuit; unde et oc-"cîdit qui tali morte quemquam afficit." When *the beast* then was wounded to death, he ceased to be what he had been before: but *a beast* is *a tyrannical idolatrous empire:* therefore *the Roman beast,*

horned beast received *his deadly wound*, and *ceased to be* (for these two phrases are only different modes of expressing the same thing), at the period when Constantine embraced Christianity and became the protector of the Church: and *his deadly wound* was healed, and he *began again to be* (for these two phrases in a similar manner are only different modes of expressing the same thing), when Phocas set up a spiritual tyrant to wear out *the saints;* and when

beast, when slain by the sword, did not experience *political subversion* (as Bp. Newton supposes), but simply ceased to be what he had been before, namely *a tyrannical idolatrous empire*. Mr. Lowman very justly thinks, that *the life, the death, and the revival of the beast* mean the very same as *his being, his ceasing to be, and his being again:* but he seems to me greatly to mistake the import of the two sets of phrases, in supposing that they denote *the overthrow of the Roman empire by the Goths*, and *the revival of it by the rise of the Papacy*. In fact, *the Roman empire under its sixth head* was *not* overthrown by the Goths; but still continued to subsist under *that same head* at Constantinople, whither the seat of government had been transferred long before the loss of the western provinces. It is a curious circumstance, that, *after* the loss of those provinces, one of the last acts of the expiring senate of ancient Rome should be a *formal* transfer of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople. In *the year* 476, when the Western empire was finally extinguished by Odoacer, an epistle was addressed by their unanimous decree to the Eastern emperor Zeno. In it "they solemnly disclaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same time, both the East and the West. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople." Hist. of Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 227.

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the empire relapsed into idolatry. It is specially said, that *the sixth head* was slain, and that *the self-same sixth head* revived; in other words, *the beast* both received *his deadly wound*, and had *that deadly wound* healed so that he "did live," under *one* and *the same sixth head*. The *five preceding heads* simply *fell:* they died, as it were, natural deaths, and continued pagan from their first rise to their final fall. But *the sixth head* was to be *slain;* it was, like its five predecessors, to be pagan at its first rise, but it was not to continue so: it was to cease to exist as *the head of a beast*, and was to die a violent death in the height of its strength, its *life* or *bestial principle* being taken away from it by the powerful preaching of the word, that sword of the Spirit which is twice in the Apocalypse represented as issuing from the mouth of the Messiah. Not that *all temporal authority* was to be annihilated throughout its dominions; but simply *its life*, or *the principle whereby it was the head of a tyrannical idolatrous empire*, was to be taken away. Yet, notwithstanding its being thus slain, it was after a certain period to revive; its *deadly wound* was to be healed: *the vital principle of bestiality*, which was for a time extinct, was again to be infused into it: it was once more to become *the living head of a beast*, or *an empire in direct opposition to the Gospel:* and all the world was to go a wondering after the new idolatry of *the revived beast*, as they had formerly wondered after his old pagan idolatry. Accordingly we learn from history, that *the Roman beast* was both *slain*,

or

or *ceased to be*, under *his sixth head;* that the empire continued as a Christian state under *the same sixth head;* and that under *the same sixth head* likewise it *revived*, and once more *came into existence as a beast.* In *the year* 313 then, when Constantine published his famous edict for the advancement of Christianity, *the beast* was wounded to death in *his sixth head;* and, in *the year* 606, when he delivered *the saints* into the hand of an idolatrous spiritual tyrant, *his deadly wound* was healed, he became *a living anti-evangelical power*, and he completely resumed all the bestial functions of his former pagan character. The space therefore between *the year* 313 and *the year* 606 is the space of time, during which *the beast was dead*, or, as St. John otherwise expresses it, *was not* *. In the course of the latter part of this intermediate period, he was *gradually reviving* through the increasing prevalence of *individual apostasy*, until at length in *the year* 606 he was *perfectly restored to life* by the establishment of *national apostasy.*

This interpretation of *the death* and *revival* of *the Roman beast under his sixth head* will be found

* I have been informed by a friend who has paid much attention to the subject of prophecy (the Rev. T. White), that this very interpretation of *the death* and *revival of the beast* was given many years ago by Dr. Henry More. He says, that *the beast* was slain under his *sixth head* by ceasing to be idolatrous, and that he revived by relapsing a second time into idolatry. I have never had an opportunity of reading *the Mystery of Iniquity*, but I feel myself considerably strengthened in my opinion by the sanction of so able a writer.

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to be the only one that accords with the general tenor of symbolical language. In Daniel's vision of *the four beasts*, we read, that *the Roman beast* is to be *slain* * at the end of *the* 1260 *years*, but that *the lives* of *the other beasts* are to be prolonged for a season and a time, though their *dominion* be taken away. Now, since the triumphant reign of *the saints* upon earth is to succeed to the death of *the Roman beast*, I know not what warrant there is for imagining that all government within the precincts of *the Roman empire* is utterly to be at an end. It seems more reasonable to suppose, that a happy evangelical order of things will succeed to the present distracted Popish state of the Roman world. Such being the case, *the death of the beast* must evidently mean, not *the annihilation of all lawful Christian government*, not *a Jacobini-*

* St. John predicts his destruction in somewhat different terms. Instead of saying that *he should be slain*, he represents him as *being cast alive into hell*. The discrepancy however is more apparent than real. Daniel briefly describes the subversion of his bestial power, and intimates that his body should be given to the burning flame: St. John describes at large the manner in which the apostate faction will be overthrown, and the future punishment of those that were members of the *beast* by receiving *his mark* and worshipping *his image*. Though *the beast* shall begin to be slain when *the* 1260 *days* shall have expired, and though a new and happy order of things will succeed to his destruction, that destruction will not be accomplished without a dreadful slaughter of his adherents; "there shall be a time of "trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to "that same time." Compare Dan. vii. 11, 26. xii. 1. with Rev. xix. 11—21.

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cal subversion of the powers that be upon the lawless principles of the frantic fifth-monarchy men in the sixteenth century; but *the utter destruction of those detestable maxims and doctrines which constitute his bestiality*, which are *his very life*, which are interwoven even with his existence as *a beast*, without the profession of which he would not be *a beast*. This is yet further manifest from the predicted fate of *the other beasts*. Their *lives*, or *bestial principles*, are to be prolonged during the period of the Millennium; though *their dominion*, or *power of injuring the Church*, is to be taken away: while *the Roman beast* is to be *slain;* his *principles* are to be *utterly destroyed*, never more to revive; and, with the destruction of those principles, *the dominion* of *his little horn* is to be finally taken away; for all, both governors and governed, will form one congregation of faithful worshippers, one great empire of *the saints* of the Most High *. Accordingly, we find, that *the beasts whose lives were prolonged*, in other words, *the nations, which shall adhere to the vanities of the Gentiles*, make a grand attack at the close of the Millennium upon *the Church:* but their *dominion* being now taken away, they entirely fail of success, and are consigned to the same punishment as those that professed and taught the apostate principles of *the Roman beast* †.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding

* Dan. vii. 11, 26. † Rev. xx. 8, 9, 10.

view

view of Daniel's prophecy is this. Since *the final death of the Roman beast*, there mentioned, means *the destruction of his principles*, and since *the prolongation of the lives of the other beasts* means *the prolonged existence of their principles: the first death of the Roman beast under his sixth head*, mentioned by St. John, must mean (arguing at least from analogy) *the destruction of his idolatrous tyranny by the sword of the Spirit;* while *his revival by the healing of his deadly wound* must, in a similar manner, signify *the renewed existence of his idolatrous tyranny.* This interpretation is yet further confirmed by the declaration, that *the beast*, in his revived or papal-idolatrous state, and under *his last head*, should go into perdition, or be utterly destroyed. "*A beast*, in the prophetic style," says Bp. Newton, "as we before observed, is *a tyranni-*
" *cal idalatrous empire:* and *the Roman empire* was
" idolatrous under *the heathen Emperors:* and then
" ceased to be so for some time under the *Chris-*
" *tian Emperors;* and then became idolatrous
" again under *the Roman Pontiffs*, and so hath
" continued ever since. It is *the same idolatrous*
" *power* revived again, but only in another form;
" and all the corrupt part of mankind, whose names
" are not inrolled as good citizens in the registers
" of heaven, are pleased at the revival of it: but
" in this last form it shall go into perdition; it shall
" not, as it did before, *cease for a time*, and *revive*
" *again*, but *shall be destroyed for ever* *."

* Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xvii.

(1.) In

(1.) In this passage Bp. Newton gives what I believe to be the true explanation of *the existence, the non-existence,* and *the re-existence,* of *the Roman beast.* All that his Lordship has said upon the subject is excellent, and immediately to the purpose: my wonder therefore is, that, after having adopted so judicious and consistent a mode of exposition, he should have so completely departed from it in what he says relative to *the death* and *revival* of *the beast under his sixth head.* In explaining this part of the prophecy, instead of strictly maintaining the analogy of symbolical language and adhering to the plan of exposition which he himself lays down, he suddenly adopts an entirely new system, and supposes *the death of the beast under his sixth head* to mean *the subversion of the Western empire,* and *his revival* to mean *the rise of the Carlovingian empire.*

" *The sixth head,*" says he, " was as it were " wounded to death, when *the Roman empire* was " overturned by the northern nations, and an end " was put to the very name of *Emperor* in Momyl- " lus Augustulus: or rather, as the government of " the Gothic kings was much the same as that of " the Emperors, with only a change of the name, " *this head* was more effectually wounded to death, " when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, " and made tributary to the Exarchate of Ra- " venna—But not only *one of his heads* was as it " were wounded to death, but *his deadly wound* " was healed. If it was *the sixth head* which was

" wounded,

" wounded, that wound could not be healed by " the rising of *the seventh head*, as interpreters " commonly conceive: *the same head*, which was " wounded, must be healed: and this was effected " by the Pope and people of Rome revolting from " the Exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles " the great *Augustus* and *Emperor of the Romans.* " Here *the wounded imperial head* was healed again, " and hath subsisted ever since *."

This scheme, independent of its manifest violation of that plan of symbolical exposition which the Bishop himself had so justly laid down respecting *the existence, the non-existence,* and *the re-existence,* of *the beast,* is certainly unsupported by history. According to the prophecy, *the sixth head,* in some sense or another, was to be *wounded to death* or *slain* by *a sword,* and was afterwards to *revive.* But, according to the Bishop's explanation, *the sixth head* was most assuredly *not slain* in the sense in which *he* understands the expression. *The western branch* of *the sixth* or *imperial head* was indeed subverted by Odoacer and his mercenaries; but *the sixth head itself* was not slain (supposing the phrase *wounded to death by a sword* to mean *political subversion),* till many ages after. It still subsisted in the person of *the Constantinopolitan Emperor;* and was not finally *slain,* or *wounded to death* (still supposing with the Bishop that the phrase means *political subversion),* till the

* Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

days

days of the Turkish horsemen under the second woe. And when at length it was thus *finally slain* by the arms of the Turks, it has never since *revived,* nor is it likely to *revive.* Hence it is manifest, that we must seek for some other mode of explaining *the death* and *revival of the sixth head:* and I know not any events in its history, which will satisfactorily explain those circumstances in a manner, agreeable both to the language of symbols, and to the collateral prediction that *the beast should be, should not be,* and *should be again;* except *its dying in the quality of a head of the beast by embracing Christianity,* and *its reviving in the same quality by its relapsing into an idolatrous tyranny the same in nature though not in name as its former idolatrous tyranny while in a pagan state.*

(2.) The scheme of Mr. Whitaker seems to me to depart yet more widely from symbolical analogy, and to be still less tenable than that of Bp. Newton. Notwithstanding St. John informs us, that *five* of *the heads* were fallen when he wrote, thereby plainly shutting *them* out from having any connection with the prophecies which he was commissioned to deliver. Mr. Whitaker supposes that *the wounded head* was not *the imperial* but *the dictatorial head;* that it received its *deadly wound* by a sword when Julius Cesar was assassinated; that it was *healed* by the establishment of *the papal power,* which he conceives to be only *the Dictatorship revived;* and that thus, computing as in the days of St. John, *it had been, was not,* and *yet shall hereafter be.*

The arguments which Mr. Whitaker brings in support of his opinion, I cannot but think inconclusive.

It is unwarrantable to pronounce *the Papacy* to be the same head as *the Dictatorship*, merely because the power *claimed* by *the Popes* bears some resemblance to that *actually possessed* by the ancient *Dictators*. Yet this is the only proof of their identity adduced by Mr. Whitaker *.

The wounded head moreover was *a form of government;* consequently *its deadly wound*, whatever the precise nature of *that wound* may be, must be understood figuratively. We shall therefore wholly depart from the language of symbols, if we suppose that *the death of the head* means *the murder of an individual dictator;* to say nothing of the impossibility of shewing how *the rise of Popery* could heal *the literal wounds of Julius Cesar.*

Lastly, the expression *was, is not, and yet is,* however commentators may think proper to interpret it, can have no relation to the particular age in

* Even if the resemblance were *perfect*, which it is not, for *the Popes* never *possessed*, though they might *claim*, the Dictatorial power; still *mere resemblance* will not constitute *identity*. "*The Pope*," says Bp. Newton, "is the most perfect likeness "and resemblance of *the ancient Roman emperors*." Hence, supposing *the image of the beast* to mean *the effigies of the beast*, he supposed *the Pope* to be that *image*. Yet he never conceived, that this similarity authorized him to say, that *the Pope* was an *Emperor*, or that *the Papal head* was *the Imperial head recovered from its deadly wound*, so that *the Emperorship* and *the Papacy* constituted jointly only *one head*.

which

which St. John flourished. It is used by the angel, not in speaking of *the Roman beast* * as *he had already been, then was in the days of the Apostle,* and *was hereafter about to be;* but in speaking of him *in his revived state,* that state in which he ascended out of *the sea,* that state which is contra-distinguished both from *his former pagan existence* and *his intermediate Christian non-existence in his bestial character.* Now *the beast* revived and ascended out of *the sea* at the beginning of *the 1260 days,* or in *the year* 606. Consequently, in *the year* 606, *the beast* began to enter upon his new character: *his deadly wound* was then healed: he received *life* afresh: and all the world wondered after him, as they had done previous to *his death.* He *had been:* he *had ceased to be:* and now *once more was* †.

Nothing in short, that Mr. Whitaker has said relative to this mysterious phrase, induces me to give up the interpretation of it proposed by Bp. Newton: and, had his Lordship only considered *the death* and *the revival of the beast* always in the same sense; had he only considered *his death* by the stroke of the sword to be equiva-

* We may observe moreover that this phrase is not applied to *a head of the beast,* as Mr. Whitaker's scheme necessarily supposes, but to *the beast himself.* The mere abolition of *the Dictatorship* did not make *the Roman beast himself* cease to be, in any sense of which the words are naturally capable.

† St. John seems to have first beheld *the beast* floundering in the sea with *one of his heads* wounded to death. Afterwards he beholds him reach the land; and immediately his deadly wound is healed.

lent to his *non-existence*, and *his living again* to be equivalent to *his re-existence;* I should have had nothing more to do than simply to transcribe his exposition of this part of the prophecy *.

4. Having now fully considered *the death* and *revival* of *the beast under his sixth head*, I shall proceed to state in a regular chronological series some of the most prominent events, which took place during the time that *the beast* lay dead and after his revival; in order that we may see, whether history will not lead us to some satisfactory explanation of *the rise of his last head.*

Immediately after the death of Theodosius in *the year* 395, the Roman empire began to be invaded by the northern barbarians: and, scarcely had their fury exhausted itself, when its western third part was attacked from the south, and its strength completely broken, by the Vandals in *the year* 455. That division nevertheless preserved the name of an *empire* until *the year* 476, when Augustulus was deposed by Odoacer. These rude shocks greatly weakened the Roman empire and diminished its glory, by the subversion of its western third part: still however it continued to subsist in the East. All the events here enumerated, are predicted, as we have seen, under *the four first trumpets.* To *the kingdom of Odoacer* in Italy, succeeded *the kingdom of the Ostrogoths* in *the year* 493. This subsisted till the reign of *the eastern Emperor Justi-*

* See Whitaker's Comment. p. 213, 216.

nian;

nian; when it was subverted by the conquests of Bellisarius and Narses, whose arms delivered Rome and Italy from the yoke of the barbarians, and united them once more to the empire. The events, by which so great a revolution was effected, succeeded each other in the following order. Bellisarius, the celebrated lieutenant of Justinian, began his career of victory by recovering from the Goths the African province in *the year* 533 and 534. His next exploit was the invasion and conquest of Sicily, in *the year* 535. Shortly after, in *the year* 536, he made himself master of Rome, which the Goths vainly attempted to take from him. In 537, he recovered many of the Italian cities. In 539, he subdued the Gothic kingdom of Italy, and took Vitiges, its sovereign, prisoner. Afterwards, during his absence, Rome was again occupied by the Goths; but, in 547, it was once more recovered by him. A third time it was taken by the Goths, in 549: and a third time, in 552, it was regained by the eastern Romans, under the eunuch Narses The defeat and death of the last Gothic sovereign of Italy speedily followed: but it was not long ere Narses had to contend with a fresh swarm of northern barbarians. In 553, Italy was invaded by the Franks and Alemans: in 554, they were totally defeated by Narses: and the period, which elapsed between *the years* 554 *and* 568, was occupied in the final settlement of Italy. That country, thus restored to its original masters,

ters *, was henceforth administered as a province of *the Eastern Empire*, by an imperial officer, styled, *the Exarch of Ravenna:* "the remains "of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, "or mingled with the people: and the Franks "abandoned, without a struggle, their Italian con-"quests †."

All these events took place during the time that *the beast* lay *dead*, or, as it is otherwise expressed, *was not*. Consequently, since he revived under *the same sixth head* that had been mortally wounded, we shall find it a fruitless labour to look during this period for the rise of *any power* that answers to the description given of *the last head.*

The Exarchate of Ravenna, though engaged in perpetual struggles with the Lombards, lasted about 170 *years;* in the course of which time, as we have seen, *the beast* revived, and *the papal little horn* began its tyrannical reign of 1260 *prophetic days.*

The extinction of *the Exarchate of Ravenna* by the Lombards, and the ambitious views of their king Aistulphus, were not beheld by *the Pope* with indifference. Though he had thrown off his allegiance to *the Constantinopolitan Emperor*, he soon

* That part of Italy however, which has since borne the name of *Lombardy*, was almost immediately wrested from the Eastern Emperors by Alboin and his Lombards. The history of this event has been stated in a preceding chapter. See Chap. iv. § III. 1, 2, (2.), (3.)

† Hist. of Decline and Fall. vol. vii. p. 399

found

found that he was but ill adapted to cope with the arms of a victorious prince. In this emergency, he applied for help to Pipin king of France; who speedily poured into Italy at the head of a large army, dispossessed the Lombards, and conferred the *Exarchate of Ravenna* upon *the Pope*. Still the *Bishop of Rome* found himself too weak to be an absolutely independent prince. After the grant of *the Exarchate* by Pipin, he received from his son and successor Charlemagne the investiture of *a considerable part of Lombardy* and of *the Dukedom of Rome;* which he held as fiefs under that monarch, though fiefs of the most honourable nature*: and, in the following reign of Louis the

* The Popes "were compelled to chuse between the rival "nations" of the East and the West: "religion was not the "sole motive of their choice; and, while they dissembled the "failings of their friends, they beheld with reluctance and "suspicion, the catholic virtues of their foes. The difference "of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the "two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by "the hostile opposition of seventy years. In that schism the "Romans had tasted of freedom, and the Popes of sovereignty: "their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of "a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed "the impotence, as well as the tyranny of the Byzantine "court;" while, by reviving the western empire, "the Roman "church would acquire a zealous and respectable advocate; "and, under the shadow of the Carlovingian power, the "Bishop might exercise, with honour, and safety, the govern-"ment of the city" (Hist. of Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 169, 170, 171.). According to Mosheim, the Popes held Rome under the Empire as the most honourable species of fief or benefice.

pious,

pious, he obtained a grant of those countries to hold them " in his own right, principality, and " dominion *."

In return for the various benefits which the Romans had received from the Carlovingian princes, " the decrees of the senate and people successively " invested Charles Martel and his posterity with " the honours of *Patrician of Rome.*" This appellation had formerly been borne by *the Exarchs of Ravenna*, who were the mere lieutenants of *the Eastern Emperor.* " The leaders therefore of " a powerful nation would have disdained a servile " title and subordinate office: but the reign of *the* " *Greek Emperors* was suspended; and, in the " vacancy of *the Empire*, they derived a more " glorious commission from *the Pope* and *the* " *Republic.* The Roman ambassadors presented " these *Patricians* with the keys of the shrine of " St. Peter, as a pledge and symbol of sovereignty; " and with a holy banner, which it was their right " and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church " and city. In the time of Charles Martel and " of Pipin, the interposition of *the Lombard king-* " *dom* covered the freedom, while it threatened " the safety, of *Rome;* and *the Patriciate* repre- " sented only the title, the service, the alliance, " of these distant protectors. The power and po- " licy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy, and " imposed a master. In his first visit to the capi-

* Bp. Newton's Dissert. xiv.

" tal,

" tal, he was received with all the honours which " had formerly been paid to *the Exarch*, the re- " presentative of *the Emperor;* and these honours " obtained some new decorations from the joy and " gratitude of Pope Adrian the first—In the por- " tico, Adrian expected him at the head of his " clergy: they embraced, as friends and equals: " but, in their march to the altar, *the king*, or " *Patrician*, assumed the right hand of *the Pope*. " Nor was the Frank content with these vain and " empty demonstrations of respect. In *the 26* " *years* that elapsed between the conquest of Lom- " bardy and his imperial coronation, *Rome*, which " had been delivered by the sword, was subject " as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. " The people swore allegiance to his person and " family: in his name money was coined, and " justice was administered: and the election of " *the Popes* was examined and confirmed by his " authority. Except an original and self-inherent " claim of sovereignty, there was not any prero- " gative remaining which the title of *Emperor* " could add to *the Patrician* of Rome *."

Thus it was, that, by the conquest of Lombardy in *the year* 774, Charlemagne acquired the undisputed sovereignty of Italy. *The Patriciate of the Exarchs* was a subordinate dignity emanating from the Constantinopolitan Emperors; *the Patriciate of Charles Martel and Pipin* was a mere title so

* Hist. of Decline and Fall. vol. ix. p. 153—156.

long

long as the kingdom of the Lombards subsisted: but *the Patriciate of Charlemagne* was an independent monarchy; which owned no superior, which exercised real authority, and which differed from *the Emperorship* that succeeded it in name only, not in essence.

The memorable year 800 beheld *the Carlovingian Patriciate* for ever swallowed up and lost in *the Gothic imperial dignity.*

" On the festival of Christmas, the last year of " the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in " the church of St. Peter; and to gratify the vanity " of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of " his country for the habit of *a patrician.* After the " celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly " placed a precious crown on his head; and the " dome resounded with the acclamations of the " people, *Long life and victory to Charles, the " most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great " and pacific Emperor of the Romans!* The head " and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by " the royal unction; after the example *of the " Cæsars* he was saluted or adored by *the Pontiff;* " his coronation oath represents a promise to " maintain the faith and privileges of the church; " and the first-fruits were paid in his rich offerings " to the shrine of the Apostle. In his familiar " conversation, *the Emperor* protested his igno- " rance of the intentions of Leo, which he would " have disappointed by his absence on that memo- " rable day. But the preparations of the cere-

" mony

" mony must have disclosed the secret; and the " journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge " and expectation: he had acknowledged that the " imperial title was the object of his ambition; " and a Roman senate had pronounced, that it " was the only adequate reward of his merit and " services *."

5. Let us now examine how far these historical facts will enable us to interpret the prophecy.

The *head*, or *form of government*, of which we are in quest, is represented by the prophet as possessing a peculiarity of character, which essentially distinguishes it from all its predecessors; it was, in some manner or another, to be *a double head:* it was at once to be both *the seventh* and *the eighth head* of *the beast*. That these *two heads*, or *forms of government*, are in fact but *one*, may be plainly collected from the words of St. John. When *the seventh king* " cometh, he must continue a short

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 173, 174. Let the reader seriously consider the whole of this and the preceding citation, and then decide whether *the Pope* appears *very* much like *the last independent head of the Roman beast* in the presence of his master Charlemagne.

The coronation oath of Charlemagne was couched, according to Baronius, in the following terms. " In nomine Christi " spondeo atque polliceor, ego Carolus Imperator, coram Deo " et beato Petro Apostolo, me protectorem ac defensorem fore " hujus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus, qua- " tenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio, prout sciero poteroque." Annal. Eccles. A. D. 800.

" space:

" space: and the beast that was, and is not, even " he is the eighth *king*, and is of the seven." In other words, although *the beast* may in some sort be said to have *eight heads*, or *eight forms of government*, yet strictly speaking he has but *seven:* for *his eighth head* is in reality *the same* as *one of his seven heads.* The question then is, with *which of the seven heads* must *the eighth head* be identified? This *eighth head* certainly cannot be the same as *any one of the first five heads;* for they were all fallen in the time of St. John. Neither can it be the same as *the sixth head;* for that was already existing in the days of the prophet, and was now and for many ages after existing at Constantinople. It only remains, therefore, for it to be the same as *the seventh head;* which, when it came, was to continue but a short space of time. To suppose otherwise indeed is introducing a sort of *Hysteronproteron* into the symbolical character of *the Roman beast:* for, if *the eighth head* be the same as *any one of the six first, the beast*, instead of being finally slain under *his last head*, will go into perdition under *a head* which is prior in point of origin to *the seventh* that continues only a short space. Hence it appears, that, since *the seventh head* and *the eighth head* are in reality one and the same, we cannot attach any meaning to the short continuance of *the seventh head*, except this: that *some power* should be *a head of the empire*, for a short time only, in *one capacity;* and that afterwards it should still remain *a head*

of

of the empire, even till the final destruction of its bestial principles, in *another capacity:* thus constituting at once both *the seventh* and *eighth heads* of *the beast,* or, if I may use the expression, *his septimo-octave head.*

At the time when *the beast* revived, his *sixth head* was seated in *the East:* consequently, we must look for the rise of his *last head* in *the West.* Now we learn from the preceding historical statement, that, during the non-existence of *the beast,* and subsequent to his revival in *the year* 606, the following powers only have had any sway in Rome and Italy: the line of *the Western emperors,* after the division of the empire, commencing with Honorius and terminating with Augustulus; *the three kingdoms* of the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards; *the Exarchate of Ravenna* subject to the Eastern emperors; *the Popedom;* and *the Carlovingian empire.* No change has taken place in Italy subsequent to the rise of the last of these powers, either of a sufficient magnitude, or of a sufficiently peculiar nature *, to warrant our seeking for *the last head of the beast* posterior to *the year* 800,

* Since this was written, Buonapartè has made himself master of all Italy: but we cannot reasonably suppose, that *the last head of the beast* has *arisen* in him; both because, however great his conquests have been, they have not been greater than those of Charlemagne; and because, if we suppose, *the last head* to have *arisen* in him, we shall make *the beast* headless during the whole period that has elapsed between the fall of *the sixth head* by the subversion of the Constantinopolitan empire, and the present

800, when Charlemagne was crowned *Emperor of the Romans:* nor do I think, that we have any just grounds to look for it prior to the revival of *the beast* under *his sixth head;* nevertheless, since many have fixed the rise of *the short-lived seventh head* previous to *the year* 606 when *the deadly wound of the beast* was healed, I felt myself bound to notice the powers which existed in Italy before that year. Among the powers then here enumerated we must look for *the seventh* and *eighth heads* of *the beast.*

(1.) Mr. Mede conceives *the seventh head* to be *the line of Western emperors,* and *the eighth head* to be *the Papacy.* By this plan he makes *the beast,* agreeably to the prophecy, to have *apparently eight heads,* and *really only seven; the line of the Western emperors,* which continued *about* 80 *years,* being in fact *a branch of the sixth* or *imperial head.* It appears therefore, that in order to reduce *the eight heads* to *seven,* he supposes *the sixth* and *the seventh* to constitute jointly *one imperial head* *.

However plausible such a scheme may be, it will by no means bear the test of examination, even independent of the objections that I have already made to *the Papacy* being considered *the last head of the secular beast.* It is not enough

present era. Whatever therefore may be his present prophetic character, of which more will be said hereafter, no *new* head of the beast can have *arisen* in him. May 1. 1806.

* Mede's Works. B. v. C. 12. p. 922.

merely

merely to reduce *the eight heads* to *seven* according to an arbitrary system of *our own* invention: we must attend to *the express words* of the prophecy, otherwise we in fact do nothing. Now the prophecy declares, that *the eighth head* should be *one of the preceding seven:* but Mr. Mede, on the contrary, makes *the supposed seventh head* to be *one of the preceding six;* and *the supposed eighth head,* which the prophet had declared should be *one of the preceding seven,* he makes to be *quite distinct from every one of those seven.* According to the prophecy, we are first to pitch upon *seven distinct heads,* and then discover *an eighth head* which shall be *the same as one of those seven:* according to Mr. Mede, we are to amalgamate *the sixth* and *the seventh heads,* and then discover *an eighth which shall not be the same as any of those seven.* On these grounds, I think the plan of that eminent expositor untenable.

(2.) Mr. Sharpe supposes *the seventh head* to be *the three Gothic kingdoms* that succeeded *the imperial sixth head* in the supreme government of Rome, and *the eighth head* to be *the Papacy* *.

This scheme is objectionable in every point of view. *Three successive kingdoms* cannot reasonably be esteemed *one head.* And, even if this were no objection, others would immediately arise. *The kingly head* was *the first of the heads of the beast:* consequently Mr. Sharpe's scheme, admitting for

* Appendix to three tracts. p. 28.—Inquiry into the Description of Babylon. p. 8, 9.

a moment

a moment *these three kingdoms* to be *a head*, amalgamates *the seventh head* with *the first*, as that of Mr. Mede amalgamated *the seventh head* with *the sixth*. Such being the case, every objection, that has been made to Mr. Mede's scheme, applies with equal force to that of Mr. Sharpe. *The eighth head*, according to both these plans, instead of being *one of the seven*, is *perfectly distinct from them all*. So again: *the three kingdoms*, which Mr. Sharpe supposes to constitute *the seventh head of the beast*, are *three of his ten original horns*. If then they be *three horns of the beast*, it is surely impossible that they should likewise, and *that* in the self-same capacity, be *one of his heads* *.

(3.) Bp. Newton thinks, that *the Exarchate of Ravenna* is *the seventh head*, and that *the Papacy* is *the eighth head* †.

* It is almost superfluous to observe, that, if *the three horns* jointly cannot be *the seventh head of the beast*, no one of them can separately. Forbes supposes, that *the kingdom of the Ostrogoths* is *the seventh head* (See Pol. Synop. in loc.); in which opinion Fleming agrees with him (Apoc. Key. p. 16.). But why should this kingdom be pitched upon in preference to *that of the Heruli* and *that of the Lombards*? The objection will equally apply to any scheme that should fix upon *either of the other two kingdoms* in preference to *the two* that must necessarily be excluded: and every other objection, that has been made to Mr. Sharpe's scheme, will moreover apply with equal force to all schemes similar to that of Forbes. I have already complained, that I have not been able to discover *what* three Gothic kingdoms Mr. Sharpe alludes to, from the circumstance of his limiting their joint duration to no more than 70 *years*.

† Dissert. on Rev. xvii.

This

This supposition is in some respects even more objectionable than the two preceding ones.—In *the first place*, it does not consist with his Lordship's own sentiments respecting *the Roman beast*. In a former dissertation he had maintained (erroneously indeed I am persuaded), that *the Exarchate* was *one of the ten horns of the beast:* now he represents it, as *his seventh head*. But *the self-same power* cannot, in *the self-same capacity*, be esteemed at once both *a horn* and *a head* of *the same beast*—In *the second place*, no modification of language will warrant us in admitting, that, while *the independent Roman Emperor of Constantinople* is *the sixth head*, his *mere dependant lieutenant, the Exarch of Ravenna*, is *the seventh head:* for this would be to place, upon the very same footing, *a sovereign* and *his viceroy, the fountain of authority* and *the commissioned governor of a province**—In *the third place*, the *seventh head*, whatever it be, must be the same as *the eighth head;* the two forming jointly *one double septimo-octave head:* for, unless this be the case, *the beast* will *really* have *eight heads*, instead of only *seven;* the very contrary of which is expressly asserted by the prophet, who, in order to shew us *how* the *beast* has only *seven heads*, declares that *the eighth* is *one of the preceding seven*. But the Bishop never supposes *the Exarch of Ra-*

* —" the Exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace " and war of the Emperor of the Romans." Hist. of Decline and Fall. vol. vii. p. 398.

venna to be *the eighth head*, for *that* supposition would of course be untenable: *the eighth head* therefore he makes to be *the Pope*. Hence it is manifest, that, upon his Lordship's scheme, *the beast* has *actually eight heads*, instead of having only *seven:* namely 1. Kings; 2. Consuls; 3. Dictators; 4. Decemvirs; 5. Military Tribunes; 6. Emperors; 7. Exarchs; and 8. Popes. The prophet however explicitly declares, that *the eighth head is one of the preceding seven*, and that *the beast* has but *seven heads:* with which then of his *supposed seven predecessors* can *the Pope* be identified? Of this natural objection *the* Bishop seems to be aware; and accordingly he endeavours to parry it, but in a manner to me at least not at all satisfactory, even allowing (what I am by no means disposed to allow) that *the Pope* may be justly considered *the last head of the secular beast* in his character of *king of kings**. "But "possibly you may hesitate, whether this," namely *the Exarchate of Ravenna*, "is properly a new "form of government, Rome being still subject "to the imperial power, by being subject to the "Greek Emperor's deputy *the Exarch of Ra-* "*venna:* and, according as you determine this "point, *the beast, that was, and is not (was,* "while idolatrous; and *was not*, while not idola- "trous,) will appear to be *the seventh* or *eighth.*

* I have already shewn how entirely unsupported such an opinion is by the testimony of history.

"If

" If you reckon this *a new form of government,* " *the beast that now is* is *the eighth;* if you do " not reckon this *a new form of government, the* " *beast* is of *the seven:* but, whether he be *the* " *seventh* or *eighth,* he is *the last form of govern-* " *ment,* and goeth into perdition." To this statement the answer is sufficiently easy. St. John first enumerates *seven distinct heads,* and then introduces *an eighth,* teaching us that *the beast* has nevertheless no more than *seven heads,* for *the eighth* is of *the seven.* If then *the beast* has *seven distinct heads* at the rise of *the eighth,* and yet notwithstanding the rise of *the eighth* has no more than *seven,* that *eighth* must in some sense be the same as *one of the seven.* But, upon Bp. Newton's plan it is not the same as *any one of the seven:* and, in order to get quit of *the supposed seventh head the Exarchate,* so that *the beast* by the addition of *the Papacy* may still have no more than *seven,* he sometimes considers *the Exarchate* as *a head,* and sometimes as *not a head**.

(4.) Some commentators, probably aware of the difficulties here enumerated, difficulties which unavoidably arise from the separation of *the seventh and eighth heads,* have adopted the mode of exposition which I believe to be the true one; namely, that *the two heads* are *one power existing in a twofold capacity:* but unfortunately they have, for the

* Mr. Lowman's interpretation is exactly the same as Bp. Newton's, and is consequently liable to the very same objections.

most part, not attended to the very accurate language, in which St. John describes *the manner* of that existence. It is not sufficient to discover a power existing in a two-fold capacity *merely:* but that power must so exist, that it must *cease* to be in one capacity, when it *begins* to be in the other. When *the seventh head* " cometh, he must continue " a short space:" he is not to *co-exist* with *the eighth*, but he is to *give place* to him. *The two heads* therefore must be *one power* existing in a *successive* two-fold capacity.

All the commentators, of whom I am now speaking, suppose *the Pope* to be *this double* or *septimo-octave head.* Accordingly, some of them imagine, that he is *one of the heads* in his *temporal*, and *another* in his *spiritual, capacity;* while others conceive, that he is *one head* as *the sovereign of his own dominions*, and *another* as *king of the whole world**—Now, even were such schemes liable to no other objections, it would be sufficient to observe, that these writers seem quite to forget, that *the seventh head* is represented as preceding *the eighth*, and as continuing only a short space: whereas both *the temporal* and *the spiritual*, both *the particular temporal* and *the universal-temporal dominion* of *the Pope*, run parallel to each other, and are equally even now in existence, each having continued a long time †.

Mr.

* See Pol. Synop. in loc.

† I speak as adapting myself to the scheme which I am considering. In strictness of language *the universal-temporal dominion*

Mr. Brightman and Mr. Mann of the Charter-house certainly manage, with by much the greatest dexterity, the supposition that *the Pope* is *the double* or *septimo octave head.*

Mr. Brightman thinks, that *the Papacy* arose in its quality of *the seventh head,* when Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome; that *this short-lived head* continued only about *a century* from the age of Constantine, when it was overwhelmed by the inundation of the Goths and Vandals; and that *the Papacy* lastly arose in its quality of *the eighth head,* which was to be *one of the seven,* when it was established upon the firm basis of temporal power by the grants of Pipin and Charlemagne. Then was healed the deadly wound which *the seventh papal head* had received from the Gothic sword; and then did *that same head,* considered as *the eighth papal head,* rear itself up again with greater vigour than it had ever possessed *—Independent of the impropriety of *at all* considering *the Pope* as *a head of the beast,* this scheme is in *other* respects highly objectionable. So far was *the Bishop of Rome* from becoming *a head* of the empire, by the secession of Constantine from the ancient capital, that he still continued *a mere subject* of his sovereign, as much a subject in short as any other bishop; we may

nion of *the Pope* is neither at present in existence, nor ever was in existence. I have already very fully shewn, that *such dominion,* though *often claimed,* was *never allowed.*

* Brightman's Apoc. Apoc. Fol. 273, 274.

therefore

therefore safely pronounce, that during at least *a century* after the Constantinian age, the period assigned by Mr. Brightman for the continuance of *the short-lived seventh head*, no *new head* whatsoever arose. And again: so far was this supposed *seventh head* from being slain by the Gothic sword, and from reviving afterwards in the capacity of *the eighth head*, that the incursions of the northern barbarians, as Machiavel most justly observes, contributed more than any circumstance whatsoever to advance the power of *the Papacy*. They did not *slay* it; but they *nourished* it, and gradually gave it *strength* and *consistency* *. Thus it appears, that Mr. Brightman's scheme is wholly unsupported by history.

Mr. Mann, on the other hand, conceives, that *the Pope* became *the seventh head* when he was constituted *supreme head of the Church* †; and that he afterwards became *the eighth head*, when he induced the Italians to revolt from the Emperor Leo on the score of image-worship ‡—This scheme however is as little tenable as any of the foregoing

* See the citations from Machiavel and Sir Isaac Newton in Chap. iv. § II. 5 III. 4.

† Mr. Mann fixes this event in the age of Justinian; whereas it did not really and permanently take place till *the year* 606 in the reign of Phocas. His scheme however is improved, instead of being injured, by this remark; because it shortens the interval between the rise of *his supposed seventh* and *eighth heads*, thereby making it more consonant with the prophecy.

‡ Mann's MS. cited by Bp. Newton Dissert. on Rev. xvii.

ones.

ones. *The seventh head* was to continue but a short space: *the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope* has continued down to the present hour. *The seventh head of a secular beast* must be *a secular power: the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope* is *a purely spiritual power;* nor is it possible to conceive how he could become *a head of the state* or *the secular beast* by being constituted *head of the Church.* *The eighth head* must likewise be *a secular power*, and one moreover so large that at its first rise it must be (as we are taught by the prophet) commensurate in a manner with *the whole beast: the temporal authority of the Pope* never extended beyond his own dominions; nor is it easy to imagine, how *the sovereign of an Italian principality* can be *the last secular head of the beast*, when *his temporal supremacy over the empire* was at no time ever acknowledged *. *But, if the Papacy*

* Let the reader attentively reperuse the preceding citations from Gibbon relative to *the inauguration of the Carlovingian empire*, and let him then declare whether in the presence of Charlemagne *the Pope* bears any resemblance to *a head of the secular Roman beast.* At that period, who was the sovereign of Rome and Italy; who, the master of the Western empire; Charlemagne or *the Pope*? Yet so far will a love of system carry some writers, that Mr. Fleming actually speaks of *the Pope* becoming at this period *the real king of Rome*, and represents *the Roman Emperorship of Charlemagne* as being *a mere empty title* (Apoc. Key. p. 35.). The very reverse of this is what we learn from history. *Charlemagne* was *the real sovereign* of the western empire: and *the Pope* held *the dukedom of Rome* under him as *a mere feudal vassal.* " That Charlemagne, " in

pacy be not *the double head of the beast* in its *two-fold spiritual and secular capacity*, it will be found impossible to point out any other manner in which there is even an *appearance* of probability that it might be *that head*. For, supposing *the Pope* to be intended by *the double or septimo-octave head of the beast*, where are we to draw the line of distinction between his two characters? At what period did he cease to be *the seventh head*, and begin to be *the eighth head?* Or in what sense can he be said to have "continued a short space" as *the seventh head?* History will furnish us with no answer to these questions.

As for the other grounds on which *the Pope* cannot be esteemed *the last head of the beast*, namely because his claim of temporal supremacy was never allowed, they have already been stated so fully at the beginning of the present chapter, that it is superfluous here to recapitulate them.

(5.) It remains only, that we enquire how far *the Carlovingian empire* answers to the prophetic character of *the double head of the beast.*

"in effect, preserved entire his supreme authority over the city "of Rome and its adjacent territory, gave law to the citizens "by judges of his own appointment, punished malefactors, "enjoyed the prerogatives and exercised all the functions of "royalty, has been demonstrated by several of the learned in "the most ample and satisfactory manner, by the most unex-"ceptionable and authentic testimonies. To be convinced of "this, it will be sufficient to consult Muratori's *Droits de* "*l'Empire sur l'Etat ecclesiastique.* Cap. vi. p. 77." Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist, vol. ii. p. 237.

The

The subversion of the kingdom of Lombardy in *the year* 774 made Charlemagne, already king of France, the undisputed master of Italy under the title of *Patrician of Rome.* In this capacity, he granted to *the Pope* the fiefs of a certain part of Lombardy and of the whole state of Rome, confirming at the same time the former grant made by his father Pipin. Here then, in the regular chronological order of prophecy, after *the beast* had been *wounded to death* under *his sixth head,* and after *his deadly wound* had been *healed,* we behold the rise of *the Carlovingian Patriciate,* or *the seventh independent temporal head of the beast.* This *head* however, when it came, was to continue only *a short space;* for it was almost immediately to be absorbed in *the eighth head,* which (the Apostle informs us) is in reality *one of the seven* although styled *the eighth,* and which (I have shewn) can only be identified with *the seventh head:* consequently we are led to expect, that *the two heads* are to be so intimately blended with each other, as to form jointly only *one septimo-octave head.* Accordingly we find, that, *just* 26 *years* after its rise, *the seventh head* was for ever lost in *the eighth head.* In *the year* 774 *, *the Carlovingian*

* I date the rise of *the Patrician head* at the era of the conquest of Lombardy, because *the mere titular Patriciate of Charles Martel and Pipin* then first became *a real form of government.* Should the reader however be disposed rather to date its rise at the time when the title was conferred upon Charles Martel, the

gian government of Italy commenced; in *the year* 800, Charlemagne assumed *the imperial dignity*, which has ever since been borne by a prince within the limits of *the old Roman empire*, and which has ever since given him precedence over *the ten horns* by constituting him in a manner *their head* *.

Here

the prophecy respecting the shortness of its duration will be no less accomplished. In that case, it will have continued about 50 *years* instead of 26; either of which periods may justly be termed *a short time*. As for *the Patriciate of the Exarchs*, it resembled in name alone *the Patriciate of Charlemagne*. *They* bore the title of *Patrician* as *dependent viceroys; he* bore it as *an independent prince*, while the reign of the Greek Emperors was suspended, and during what Mr. Gibbon styles " *the vacancy of* " *the Empire.*"

* From the days of Charlemagne, *the Emperor* has always claimed, and has always been allowed, precedence over *every one of the ten horns:* and as such he has invariably been considered as *the head of the great European commonwealth.* This point however is best decided by a professed writer upon Heraldry. In his chapter upon *the precedency of kings and commonwealths*, Sir George Mackenzie has the following observations. " Amongst those who are supreme, *kings* have the " preference from *commonwealths;* and, amongst *kings*, *the* " *Emperor* is allowed the first place by the famous ceremonial " of Rome, as succeeding to *the Roman Emperors*—And there- " fore the German and Italian lawyers, who are subject to *the* " *Empire*, have with much flattery asserted, that *the Emperor* " is *the Vicar of God in temporals*" (manifestly in contradistinction to *the Pope*, who claimed and was allowed to be *the Vicar of Christ in spirituals)*, " and that jurisdictions are de- " rived from him, as from the fountain, calling him *dominum* " " *et caput totius orbis*" (Mackenzie's Observations on Precedency. Chap. 1.). This last matter Sir George naturally enough refuses

†

Here then we behold the rise of *the septimo-octave head of the beast* *: a matter so evident, that a writer, *in this respect* certainly *unprejudiced*, was naturally led by circumstances to bestow *this very title* upon Charlemagne. Pointing out the motives, by which *the Popes* were induced to espouse the cause of *the French monarch* in preference to that of *the By-*

refuses to allow, though he readily concedes a precedency of rank to *the Emperor*. His whole treatise may be found in Guillim's Display of Heraldry. See also Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xlii. p. 80—105.

* It is not unworthy of notice, that Cardinal Baronius speaks of the coronation of Charlemagne in language, which strongly though undesignedly marks the rise of *a new head of the Roman beast*. "Quod autem ejusmodi translatio imperii "ab Oriente in Occidentem, ubi posthac semper stetit et hac- "tenus perseverat, divino consilio facta fuerit magno reipub- "licæ Christianæ emolumento, et imperii Orientalis desolatio, "et alia eventa, satis superque demonstrârunt. Nec vero id "potuisse convenientius fieri quam per Romanum Pontificem "totius Christianæ religionis antistitem, et summum Ecclesiæ "catholicæ visibile caput, pastoremque universi gregis Chris- "tiani; nec decentius quam in Carolum magnum, regem totius "Occidentis potentissimum, eumdemque Christianissimum, "piissimum, justissimum, fortissimum, doctissimum, de reli- "gione Christiana, ecclesia catholica, sede apostolica, statu "publico, semper in omnibus optimè meritum; nec denique "opportuniori tempore, quàm cum jacerent absque possessore "jura Orientalis Imperii, et periculum immineret ne caderent "in schismaticos principes a fide catholica exteres, aut in "Christianæ religionis infestissimos hostes Saracenos, nemo "prudens et rerum æquus æstimator non affirmabit, nec in- "ficias ire poterit, totum id Dei opus fuisse, ejusque mira- "bili consilio sapientissimè dispositum." Annal. Eccles. A. D. 800.

sanctine

zantine emperors, he observes, that " the name of " Charlemagne was stained by the polemic acri- " mony of his scribes: but the conqueror himself " conformed, with the temper of a statesman, to " the various practice of France and Italy. In his " four pilgrimages or visits to the Vatican, he em- " braced *the Popes* in the communion of friend- " ship and piety; knelt before the tomb, and con- " quently before the image, of the Apostle; and " joined, without scruple in all the prayers and " processions of the Roman liturgy. Would pru- " dence or gratitude allow *the pontiffs* to renounce " their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate " his gift of *the exarchate?* Had they a power to " abolish *his government of Rome?* The title of " *Patrician* was below the merit and greatness of " Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving " *the Western empire*, that they could pay their " obligations or secure their establishment. By " this decisive measure they would finally eradi- " cate the claims of the Greeks: from the debase- " ment of a provincial town the majesty of Rome " would be restored: the Latin Christians would " be united under *a supreme head* in their ancient " metropolis*: and the conquerors of the West " would

* Though Charlemagne in a great measure united the Latin Christians under *one head*, by reigning at the same time in *France*, *part of Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Hungary*, yet he never made *Rome* his metropolis; nor can I think with Mr. Gibbon that *the Popes* ever wished him to do it. Those subtle politicians

" would receive their crown from the successors of " St. Peter. The Roman church would acquire a " zealous and respectable advocate; and, under the " shadow of the Carlovingian power, the bishop " might exercise, with honour and safety, the go- " vernment of the city *."

6. To this interpretation of the prophecy respecting *the septimo-octave head of the beast*, it is possible, that *three objections* may be urged— *First*, that it does not accord with my own plan of exposition to suppose, that *a king of France* should be *a head of the beast*, because *France* is *one of the ten horns:* consequently, in making *the patricio-imperial dignity of Charlemagne* to be *the last head*, I make that prince at once both *a head* and *a horn*, the very error with which I charge Bp. Newton in the case of *the Exarchate*—

politicians were too well aware, that the immediate presence of *a sovereign prince* would grievously impede their schemes of aggrandisement, ever to desire that *Rome* should behold any other masters than themselves. With the title of *Emperor of the Romans* they were perfectly satisfied, so long as *the Emperor* remained at a respectful distance from *the seven-hilled city*.

* Hist. of Decline and Fall. vol. ix. p. 170, 171. Charlemagne's devotion to *the Papacy* appears from this passage in his laws. " In memoriam beati Petri apostoli, honoremus sanctam " Romanam et apostolicam sedem; ut quæ nobis sacerdotalis " mater est dignitatis, esse debeat ecclesiastica magistra rationis. " Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas; ut, licet " vix ferendum ab illa sancta sede imponatur jugum, tamen " feramus, et pia devotione toleremus." A sentence, says Baronius, worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold! Eccles. Annal. A. D. 801.

Secondly,

Secondly, that, while I am unwilling to allow *the Pope* to be *the last head* on the ground of his temporal supremacy never having been acknowledged by the sovereigns of the Roman empire, I find no difficulty in supposing *the Emperor* to be *this last head*, notwithstanding his temporal supremacy, except so far as conceding to him a mere empty precedence, is as little allowed by any of the great powers as that of *the Pope* himself—*Thirdly*, that *the imperial dignity of Charlemagne and his successors* even to the present day, is nothing more than *a continuation of the sixth head;* and therefore that it cannot be esteemed *a new* and *distinct head*—*These three objections* shall be answered in their order.

(1.) It is undoubtedly true, that I denied the possibility of *the Exarchate* being typified both by *a head* and *a horn* of *the same beast;* but I denied it on this account, and I see no reason to retract my opinion: in the case of that government, the same power is represented by Bp. Newton, as being, *in the selfsame capacity*, both *a head* and *a horn* of *the Roman beast*, which is a manifest unnecessary repetition; whereas Charlemagne was *not* both *a head* and *a horn*, in *the same capacity*, but, like all his successors, in *two entirely different capacities*. As *king of France*, he was *a horn of the beast;* as *emperor of the Romans*, he was *its last head**. It is evident, indeed, that, since *the septimo-*

* *The Pope* might undoubtedly have been *a horn of the beast* in his *ecclesiastical capacity*, and *a head*, in his *temporal*, if he had ever

septimo-octave head was to spring up when *the empire* was in a divided state, there would be, as it were, no room for it among *the ten horns*, unless it were, although *a distinct thing* itself, in some manner attached to *one* of them. Accordingly, *the Carlovingian imperial dignity*, although generally attached to *one of the ten horns*, is yet so perfectly distinct from *them all*, that the French successors of Charlemagne continued to be *kings of France* when they ceased to be *Emperors of the Romans;* and *the imperial dignity* itself was afterwards sometimes borne by one family and sometimes by another, each however, so long as it enjoyed it, claiming and being allowed precedence *.

Hence

ever been, what Bp. Newton styles him, *a king of kings* as well as *a bishop of bishops:* but this, as I have already shewn from history, he never was; and yet this is the only way, in which it is possible for him to be *the last head* as well as *the little horn*. Mr. Mede's language is very inaccurate. He represents *the little horn* as being absolutely the same as *the last head*—" *the* " *Antichristian horn with eyes and mouth;* that is, qui cum " revera *cornu* tantum sit, pro *capite* tamen sese gerit, cujus est " proprium os et oculos habere." Works. B. iv. Epis. 24.

* *The imperial title* lately assumed by General Buonapartè, even supposing it to be something different from *the regal title*, no more affects the present scheme of interpretation, than the division of *the Old Roman empire* into its *eastern* and *western branches* does the universally acknowledged opinion that *the sixth head* is *the ancient imperial dignity*. The present title however of that usurper is manifestly no more than that of *king*. Whatever he may please to style himself, *France* is still only *one of the ten horns of the beast*. But should he at some future period be allowed by Providence to tread in the steps of

Hence it appears, that I am guilty of no inconsistency in supposing, that Charlemagne, in his *two different capacities* of *king of France* and *Emperor of the Romans*, may be considered as being at once both *a horn* and *a head of the beast*.

(2.) The *second objection*, that *the Emperor can no more be esteemed the last head of the secular beast than the Pope, because his temporal supremacy is no more allowed than that of the Pope*, will speedily vanish, if we consider the nature of symbolical prophecy and the history of the first rise of the *Carlovingian empire*. Now it is manifest, that, in a prophecy symbolically delivered, the symbols themselves cannot be represented as perpetually varying with the ever-varying revolutions of nations. The great outlines of facts, whether past, present, or future, must alone be attended to: and the different members of *a symbolical beast* must unavoidably be exhibited as stationary and permanent, when in reality they are by no means so. St.

of Charlemagne, to subvert the imperial honours of Germany, and to re-annex to France the title and authority of *Emperor of the Romans:* in that case he would doubtless become *the septimo-octave head;* in that case *the imperial dignity* would only revert to *France*, as it was before transferred from *France* to *Germany:* it would still be *the same last head of the beast.* How far such an event is probable, the reader must judge for himself, when more is said hereafter upon the subject of yet unfulfilled prophecies.

Since this was written, the usurper *has been* permitted to tread in the steps of Charlemagne, and to erect again *the empire of the West.* His government is now plainly the representative of *the Carlovingian head of the beast.* June 1. 1806.

John

John himself gives us a clue to the right interpretation of his own prophecy. "Five of the heads," says he, "are fallen, and one is, and the other is "not yet come:" nevertheless *the beast* still appears with *all his seven heads*, notwithstanding, when he arose out of *the sea of Gothic invasion*, *five* of them were no longer in existence, and *one* of them was as yet future. In a similar manner, *the sixth head*, which at its first rise reigned paramount, like each of its five predecessors, over *the whole beast*, is still, no less than when it first arose, considered as *the sixth head;* even when its empire was overrun by the barbarians of the North and the Saracens of the South, when its fairest provinces were rent away from it, and when many independent kingdoms were erected which acknowledged not its supremacy. If then *the sixth head* be esteemed a *head*, from its *first rise* to its *final dissolution*, when cooped up by the Turks within the narrow limits of a single city; we must evidently adopt the same mode of considering *the last head:* that is to say, it will matter little, so far as the completion of the prophecy is concerned, whether the temporal supremacy of the *present* representative of *the last head* be acknowledged or not, provided only it was *once* acknowledged. We have merely therefore to inquire, whether this was ever the case with *the Carlovingian monarchy;* for such acknowledgment seems necessary, in the mind of the prophet, to complete the character of *a head of the beast.*

He is silent respecting *the first six heads*, because they all arose before the empire was broken, and therefore it was unnecessary to specify that *they* were severally *the whole beast:* but he particularly informs us, that the *last* should likewise be *the whole beast*, because such a circumstance, however essential to the character of *a head*, seemed very improbable after the empire had branched out into *ten horns**. This however precisely came to pass. Allowing for the space occupied by *the yet existing sixth head, the last head* at its first rise was commensurate, either by actual sovereignty or acknowledged supremacy, with *the whole beast.* Charlemagne *really possessed* what the Popes only *ineffectually claimed.* The greatest part of *the Western Empire* was immediately subject to him: he possessed ample territories without its limits: and the petty kings of Britain and Spain, the only provinces not directly under his controul, implored the honour and support of his alliance, and styled him *their common parent, the sole and supreme Emperor of the West* †. The result therefore of the

* "The beast, that was, and is not, even he is the eighth "(king or head), and is of the seven."

† The reader will find a statement of the extent of the Carlovingian empire, in the Hist. of the Decline and Fall. vol. ix. p. 180—187; which affords the best comment upon the prophetic declaration that *the last head* should be *the whole beast.* Respecting Charlemagne and his empire Mr. Gibbon justly remarks, that "the dignity of his person, the length of his reign, "the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, "and

the whole is this. If *the successors of Augustus* are still considered as *the sixth head of the beast*, even when they no longer possessed the temporal supremacy of Augustus; no reason can be shewn, why *the successors of Charlemagne* should not still be considered as *the last head of the beast*, although they now no longer possess the temporal supremacy of Charlemagne *.

(3.) With

" and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from " the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new era from the re- " storation of the Western empire." The very pagans indeed, as Cardinal Baronius observes, mourned for Charlemagne as the father of the world: " ipsos paganos eum planxisse quasi pa- " trem orbis." Annal. Eccles. A. D. 814.

Since this was written *the Carlovingian emperorship of the West* has been transferred to *France*, and *the real temporal supremacy of Charlemagne* has been revived. June 1, 1806.

And yet more lately the chief of the House of Austria has formally resigned *the Carlovingian emperorship;* the ancient Germanic body has been dissolved; and a new feudal empire, comprehending nearly the whole of that country, has been formed subject to France. The present representative of Charlemagne, in short, reigns from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and from the modern confines of Russia to the Atlantic, even where it washes the coasts of Portugal. Nov. 20. 1807.

* The relics of that temporal supremacy, which constituted the Carlovingian line of Emperors *the last head of the beast*, may be clearly traced in the famous Golden bull enacted under the Emperor Charles IV. in *the year* 1356. In this bull each of the Electors is required to swear, that to the best of his discernment he will choose " *a temporal chief* for *the Christian* " *people*" who may be worthy of that station: and it is afterwards ordered, that none of them shall quit the city of Frankfort,

(3.) With regard to *the identity of the ancient Augustan imperial dignity and the modern Carlovingian imperial dignity*, it exists but in imagination. The two resemble each other merely in name: in all other respects there is so great a difference between them, that they cannot with any propriety be considered as forming only *one head*. They differ in these respects.

The Augustan Emperorship was *a single head*, immediately succeeding *the five* which had fallen, and seated during the latter part of its existence at Constantinople contemporaneously with *the last*

" until they shall have, by a plurality of voices, elected and " given to *the world*, or to *the Christian people*, a *temporal chief*, " namely a king of the Romans, future Emperor." With the same now empty affectation of the Carlovingian supremacy, the Archbishop of Cologne is styled *Arch-chancellor of the Holy Empire in Italy;* the Archbishop of Triers, *Arch-chancellor of the Holy Empire in France* and *Arles;* and the Archbishop of Mentz, *Arch-chancellor of the Holy Empire in Germany*. The whole of the Golden bull may be seen in Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxx. Bp. Newton indeed does not deny, that *the Carlovingian Emperorship* is *a head of the beast;* only he supposes it to be *a continuation of the sixth head*, instead of its being *the distinct double last head*. Such a scheme however appears to me extremely unnatural. When the *sixth head* was continued from the days of Constantine in the persons of *the Constantinopolitan Emperors*, and consequently when it was actually in existence at the time of the rise of *the Carlovingian Emperorship*, it seems very far fetched to say, that it was continued in the line of *the Carlovingian Emperors*, the very first of whom did not flourish till upwards of *three centuries* after the downfall of *the old western empire* under Augustulus.

head

*head**. *The Carlovingian Emperorship* is *a double head*, consisting of *the Patriciate* merging into *the feudal imperial dignity*, whence I have styled it *the septimo-octave head*—*The Augustan Emperorship* was composed of *a line of real Roman princes* †, who administered *the very Empire* that was erected by the valour of the *five first heads*. *The Carlovingian Emperorship* was composed of *a line of Gothic princes*, who had invaded and occupied the territories of *the sixth head*—*The Augustan Emperorship* was sometimes hereditary, and sometimes conferred by the military violence of the Pretorian guards. *The Carlovingian Emperorship* has sometimes indeed been hereditary, but has for the most part been elective, the right of election being vested in a certain number of princes—*The Augustan Emperorship* was always attached to territorial possessions, insomuch that, if the reigning Emperor had not been Emperor, he would have been no more than a private man. *The Carlovingian Emperorship* was never attached to territorial possessions, *as such;* the prince, who enjoyed that dignity, sometimes being of one family and sometimes of another, holding his proper

* It is worthy of notice, that St. John gives no intimation, that *the sixth head* should fall previous to the rise of *the septimo-octave head*, though he states so particularly that *the five first heads* had fallen previous to the rise of *the sixth head*.

† When I say *real Roman princes*, I only mean princes born in regions that acknowledged the sovereignty of the Augustan Emperors, not princes literally born at *Rome* or in *Italy*.

domi-

dominions by a quite distinct tenure from his Emperorship, being at once an hereditary sovereign and an elective Emperor, and rarely since the days of Charlemagne possessing a single foot of ground in his imperial capacity *. Accordingly, the dignity of *the Carlovingian Emperorship* has been borne alternately by a King of France, a Duke of Franconia, a Duke of Suabia, a Duke of Bavaria, a King of Bohemia, a King of Naples, and a King of Spain †; whose hereditary territories were entirely independent of their imperial rank—Finally, *the Augustan Emperorship* consisted of *a line of military despots*, ruling, like the Turkish monarchs, over a nation of slaves. *The Carlovingian Emperorship* has ever constituted its possessor *the chief of a Gothic feudal confederacy*. When this last particular is fully considered, we shall scarcely find any two lines of princes more dissimilar than *the Augustan* and *the Carlovingian Emperors*. The principles of feudalism, brought by the northern tribes out of their native forests ‡, and

* Charlemagne's sovereignty of Italy gradually melted away into the imperial fiefs.

† I pretend not accurately to state all the variations of descent in the Carlovingian imperial dignity: I merely observe, in general terms, that it has been attached at different times to all these different families.

‡ The rudiments of feudalism may be clearly discovered in the account which Tacitus gives of the ancient Germans. In their yet infant state of society, their princes, instead of granting to their counts or feudal vassals, manors and estates subject

and carried to perfection in France, Germany, and Italy, draw an indelible line of difference between *the sixth* and *the last head of the beast:* and we must possess the power of imagination in a very high degree to suppose, that *Charlemagne*, surrounded by his Gothic military vassals, the Palatines, Dukes, and Counts of his Empire, or that *the modern Emperors of the Romans*, the feudal superiors of a long train of Electors, Princes, Margraves, and Landgraves, form a continuation of *the Augustan Emperors of Rome and Constantinople*, merely because they also have borne the title of *Emperors* *. So far indeed is *the sovereign of*

subject to military service, presented them with horses and lances, and gained their affection by rude though plentiful entertainments, See Tac. de Mor. Germ. c. 13, 14.

* The Italian Romances are curious and even valuable, as depicting with considerable accuracy, from the legends of the ancient troubadours, the state of Gothic manners in the Carlovingian age. Whoever has read the poems of Boyardo and Ariosto will find it no easy matter to discover any resemblance between the court of the warlike sovereign of Orlando, Rinaldo, and Brandamant, and that of the Roman Cesars; and history will teach him, that there is just as little resemblance between their respective principles of government. Mr. Gibbon very truly observes, that " the victorious nations of Germany " established *a new system of manners and government* in the " western countries of Europe," Hist. of Decline. vol. vi. p. 404.

The sceptre of Charlemagne has recently been transferred from Germany to France. Still however is *the new empire of the West* constructed on those very principles of feudalism which characterized *the original empire of Charlemagne*. An assemblage

of the Gothic Roman Empire from constituting jointly with *the sovereign of the Constantinopolitan Empire* only *one sixth head of the beast*, as Bp. Newton supposes, that the Greeks very unwillingly allowed even to *Charlemagne* the title of *Emperor*, and absolutely refused to bestow it upon his successors. They could not bring themselves to consider a barbarian of the North in the light of *an Emperor of the Romans;* and they were unwilling to concede that dignity to *a king of the Franks*, which they had never refused to *the short-lived genuine line of Western Emperors*, the real successors of *Augustus* *. Under Charlemagne in

assemblage of newly-created kings professedly hold their crowns as vassals of their superior lord Buonaparte, who scruples not to style their dominions *federal provinces of his empire.* June 1. 1806.

* The imperial dignity of Charlemagne was announced to "the East by the alteration of his style; and, instead of saluting his *fathers, the Greek Emperors*, he presumed to adopt "the more equal and familiar appellation of *brother*—A treaty "of peace and alliance was concluded between the two empires; and the limits of the East and West were defined by "the right of present possession. But the Greeks soon forgot "this humiliating equality, or remembered it only to hate the "Barbarians by whom it was extorted. During the short union "of virtue and power, they respectfully saluted the *august* "Charlemagne, with the acclamations of *basileus*, and *Emperor* "*of the Romans.* As soon as these qualities were separated in "the person of his pious son, the Byzantine letters were inscribed, *To the King, or, as he styles himself, the Emperor of* "*the Franks and Lombards.* When both power and virtue were "extinct, they despoiled Louis the second of his hereditary "title;

in short, Rome became subject to *a new head**: for *a form of government* was then instituted, differing,

" title; and, with the barbarous appellation of *Rex* or *Rega*, " degraded him among the crowd of Latin princes—The same " controversy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and their " ambassador describes, in lively colours, the insolence of the " Byzantine court. The Greeks affected to despise the poverty " and ignorance of the Franks and S ; and, in their last " decline, they refused to prostitute to the kings of Germany " the title of *Roman Emperors.*" Hist. of Decline. vol. ix. p. 191—195.

* Many commentators, though they may not quite positively declare as much, seem to be impressed with a sort of idea, that *an actual Residence at Rome* is a necessary characteristic of *a head of the Roman beast.* Hence we are sometimes asked, What other power, except *the Papacy*, can possibly be *the last head of the beast*, inasmuch as Rome since the days of *the Cesars* has been the seat of no other power? *Mere residence at Rome* however has nothing to do with the character of *a head of the beast*; though it seems essential to such a character to have enjoyed, at some period or other of its existence, *the sovereignty of Rome.* When Constantine removed the seat of government, he did not surely on that account cease to be the representative of *the sixth head*; any more than the king of Scotland ceased to be the head of Scotland by removing the seat of government to London, or the Emperor of Russia to be the head of Russia by transferring his residence from Moscow to Petersburgh. Indeed, those who are the foremost in urging *the residence of the Pope in Rome*, as an argument of his being *the last head*, scruple not to declare that either *the line of the demi-Cesars, the Exarchs of Ravenna*, or *the Gothic sovereigns of Italy*, constitute *the short lived seventh head*; although none of these, except the first, *ever* resided in Rome, and they only for about *eight years.* Rome was as much subject to Charlemagne who resided at Paris, as it was to Constantine who resided

*

fering radically and essentially from *every one* of *the previous six forms*, represented by *the six first heads of the beast.*

7. By way of recapitulation of what has been said, I will venture to assert, that no power has ever arisen within the limits of *the Roman empire* which at all answers to the prophetic character of *the septimo-octave head*, except *the Carlovingian monarchy* alone. *Three things* concur in this character; *the last head of the beast* was to be at once both *the seventh* and *the eighth head, the seventh* continuing only a short time, and then being swallowed up in *the eighth;* it was at its first rise to be *the whole beast;* and it was to be *the beast that was, and is not, and yet is*, that is to say, it was to be *the revived beast* or *the beast while in his papally-idolatrous state.*

(1.) Now *the Carlovingian monarchy* was *the septimo-octave head*, as being *the Patriciate* merging into *the feudal Emperorship.*

(2.) It was *the whole beast*, as comprehending *the whole Western empire* either by actual sovereignty, or by the homage of acknowledged superiority.

(3.) And it was *the beast that was, and is not, and yet is*, as comprehending *that whole empire*, after

sided at Constantinople. The only difference was this; that Charlemagne granted Rome to *the Pope* to be held as a fief of the empire, under himself the superior lord, agreeably to the usages of feudalism. Indeed the whole behaviour of Charlemagne shews plainly, that he was as much the real sovereign of Rome as Buonapartè is at present. June 1. 1806.

it had elapsed into the abominations of *papal tyranny and idolatry.*

Neither *the Papacy*, nor *any other power*, except the *Carlovingian Patricio-Imperial government*, will be found to answer to this prophetic description; whence I doubt not, but that *that government* is intended by *the last head of the beast.*

8. Mr. Mede and Bp. Newton think, that St. John beheld *all the ten horns* growing together upon *the last head.* To this opinion however there appear to be insuperable objections, whether *the last head* be *the Papacy* or *the Gothic Emperorship. The springing up of horns out of a head* necessarily implies, that *the head* was in existence before *the horns:* whereas both *the Papal Empire* (as contradistinguished from *the primitive Bishopric of Rome*), and *the Carlovingian Emperorship*, arose after *the horns* had sprung up; namely, the one in *the year* 606, and the other in *the years* 774 and 800*. Hence it is plain, that *the ten horns* could not have appeared to the prophet as growing upon *the last head.* To *which* then of *the heads* are we to assign *the ten horns?* Most assuredly to *the sixth.* In the days of St. John *five* were fallen: and, between the fall of *those five* and the rise of *the last*, *the ten horns* sprung up. It is manifest

* Bp. Newton dates the commencement of *the* 1260 *years* considerably *later* than *the year* 606. According to this plan, it is still more impossible, that *the ten horns* should appear to St. John growing upon *the last head*, if *that last head* be *the Papacy.*

therefore,

therefore, that they can only have sprung up out of *the sixth.* Such accordingly we find to be the case. *The Roman Empire* was divided into *ten kingdoms* under *the sixth head of the beast,* previous to his revival under *the same sixth head**, and previous to the rise of *his last head.* It was *the sixth head* therefore that branched out into *ten horns:* consequently to *the sixth head* the *ten horns* must necessarily belong.

III. In the remaining part of the prophecy respecting *the ten-horned beast* we are informed, agreeably to the preceding prophecy respecting the war between *the dragon* and *the woman,* that it was *the dragon* which gave his power and his seat or secular authority to *the beast;* and that *the beast,* as his agent, should persecute the saints 42 *months* or 1260 *years.* Hence it appears, that *the persecution of the dragon* and *the persecution of the beast* is one and the same; and that they are both exactly commensurate with *the reign of the little horn. The dragon* therefore, as I have already observed, we must consider as *the main spring* of *the whole Apostasy; the ten-horned beast,* as his *secular engine of persecution;* and *the two-horned beast,* as *the spiritual instrument* which he used to stir up *the last head* and *the ten horns* of *the beast of the sea* against *the mystic woman.*

* "I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death; and "his deadly wound was healed—the beast, which had the wound "by a sword, and did live." Rev. xiii. 3. 14.

1. We

1. We are told by the prophet, that *the ten-horned beast* " opened his mouth in blasphemy " against God, to blaspheme his name and his ta- " bernacle and them that dwell in heaven."

Blasphemy, in the prophetic language, denotes *apostasy*. Here it peculiarly denotes *the apostasy of Idolatry*, though perhaps without excluding the idea of *an actual renunciation of Christ*. That *the Roman beast* while *pagan* was idolatrous, it is almost superfluous to observe; and, that he has relapsed into his ancient demonolatry disguised under a different name while *papal*, is scarcely less evident. In this last character he specially appears in the prophecy of *the little book*. He blasphemed *the name of God*, by sanctioning and upholding the idolatry of his *little horn*, and by maintaining with the secular arm his tyrannical usurpation of a catholic spiritual authority: hence it is said by Daniel, that he should be destroyed " *because* of the " voice of the great words which the horn spake." He blasphemed *the tabernacle of God*, by treading it underfoot, and by polluting it with the idolatrous abominations of a new race of Gentiles *. And he blasphemed *them that dwell in heaven*, the holy angels and martyrs, by making them the objects of superstitious adoration, and by bestowing their names upon the images which he worshipp d. But *idolatry* is not the *only* apostasy, with which *the beast* has been tainted. Falling in *the last days*

* Rev. xi. 2.

into

into the snare of *Antichristianism*, he has, more especially in one of his chief members, openly apostatized from the faith, abjured the religion of the Messiah, and even denied the very existence of a God. Well then might the Apostle describe him as *having upon his heads the name of blasphemy*, as *being even full of names of blasphemy*; when his career has almost invariably been marked with every kind of apostasy*.

2. We are moreover informed, that all the world worshipped *the dragon* and *the beast*, and wondered after *the beast*.

Respecting this worship, we are afterwards taught, that it was *the second beast* who caused it to be paid to *the first*; and much light is thrown upon its nature by a phrase, which more than once occurs in the Apocalypse: *men are said to worship the beast and his image*. Now it is superfluous to observe, that the Papists never literally worshipped *the devil*; and equally so to remark, that they never literally worshipped *the ten-horned beast*, or *the secular Roman empire*: yet this worship is immediately connected with the

* Rev. xiii. 1. xvii. 3. I am indebted to Mrs. Bowdler for this view of *the apocalyptic blasphemy*. Her ideas of *Antichrist* are the same as my own; his special badge, in his worst state, is *a denial of the Father and the Son*. It is remarkable, that Mrs. Bowdler, who wrote in *the year* 1775, supposes, that a time may come when men will be required to abjure the very name of Christ. Her conjecture has certainly been accomplished in at least one of the principal members of *the beast*. Practical Observ. on the Rev. p. 35—46.

worship

worship of *an image*, which *the second beast* caused to be made to, or for the use of, *the first head*. Hence I apprehend, that *the worship of the dragon and the beast* means *the devotion of the whole Roman world to the apostate principles of the beast;* such as *his idolatrous worship of images, his opposition to the truth,* and *his persecution of the witnesses.* They that dwelt upon the earth worshipped *the dragon,* by lending themselves as tools to advance the infernal domination of the prince of darkness*; and they worshipped *the beast,* by adopting the idolatry which he upheld no less as a popish than as a pagan empire †. I know not in what manner, except this, it is possible for *an empire* to be worshipped.

3. It is further said, that power was given to *the ten-horned beast* over all kindreds and tongues and nations; insomuch that all that

* "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your "father he will do." John viii. 44.

† "*Bestiam adorare*, ex Hebraismi et Orientis usu, nihil aliud "est quam eidem subjici" (Mede in loc.). "*Adoraverunt* "*bestiam*, i.e. subjecerunt se bestiæ juxta constitutionem suam "religiosam" (Pol. Synop. in loc.). The passage is equivalent to that, wherein it is said, that *the ten horns* "gave their "power and strength unto the beast" (Rev. xvii. 13.). *The whole Roman world*, under *all its ten horns*, embraced those idolatrous and heretical principles which gave to the Empire its bestial character; and employed its utmost power and strength to uphold them. Respecting the worship of *the beast's image* more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

dwell

dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb.

These various kindreds, and tongues, and nations, are the different papal states of *the Roman earth;* over all of which *the beast* reigned, either through *his last head,* or through *his ten horns:* For a season they all worshipped *the beast,* adopting his apostate principles, joining in his adoration of images, applauding his every persecution of the Church, and heartily concurring with him in his most violent measures against *the witnesses* whose names are written in the book of life: and even now, after the Reformation, only *one of the ten horns* has protested against his tyranny, and resolutely sheltered *the mystic woman* and *the remnant of her seed* from his implacable rage *. The *others* either still adhere to their ancient abominations, or have embraced the yet more blasphemous tenets of *Antichrist.* Notwithstanding their recent severe sufferings, they repent not of the works of their hands, their idolatry, their murders, their sorceries, their spiritual fornication, their thefts; or they repent of them only to blaspheme the name of the God of heaven, and to refuse to give him glory. *The Roman beast* still retains all the characteristics of *a beast:* and in this state he will at

* Neither Denmark, Sweden, nor Prussia, are *even modern horns of the beast,* because they never were comprehended within the limits of *the old Roman Empire.*

length

length go into perdition on account of the great words of *the little horn.*

IV. It will not be improper at the end of this long discussion, to give in one point of view the scheme of interpretation which I have adopted in preference to that of Mr. Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Bp. Newton. Whatever may be its other faults, it at least preserves *all the members of the seven-headed and ten-horned beast* perfectly *distinct.*

1. *The beast* then is *the secular Roman Empire* —His *seven heads* (the *last* being his *double* or *septimo-octave head)* are 1. Kings; 2. Consuls; 3. Dictators; 4. Decemvirs; 5. Military Tribunes; 6. Augustan Emperors; 7, 8. Carlovingian Patricio-Emperors—His *ten primitive horns* are 1. The kingdoms of the Huns; 2. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths; 3. The kingdom of the Visigoths; 4. The kingdom of the Franks; 5. The kingdom of the Vandals; 6. The kingdom of the Sueves and Alans; 7. The kingdom of the Burgundians; 8. The kingdom of the Heruli, Rugii, Scyrri, and other tribes, that composed the Italian kingdom of Odoacer; 9. The kingdom of the Saxons; 10. The kingdom of the Lombards—His *little horn,* which grew up among his *first ten horns,* and which was different from them all, is *the ecclesiastical kingdom of the Pope;* which, small as it originally was, afterwards became *a great ecclesiastical empire*— His *three primary horns,* that were plucked up before *the little papal horn,* are 1. The kingdom of

the Heruli; 2. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths; and 3. The kingdom of the Lombards.

2. *The apocalytic ten-horned beast* is not represented, like *the same beast* in the book of Daniel, with *a little horn:* because St. John wished to describe *the power* symbolized by *the little horn,* as having now, at the revival of *the secular beast,* become *a great spiritual empire* by being declared *supreme head of the universal Church.* Accordingly, *the two-horned beast,* which is not mentioned by Daniel, occupies the place of *the little horn,* which is not mentioned by St. John. This *two-horned beast,* or *false prophet,* is the same *as the great scarlet whore,* who rides triumphant upon *the secular beast:* that is to say, they both equally symbolize *the adulterous tyrannical church of Rome* or *the spiritual catholic empire of the Pope.*

V. The prophecy awfully concludes with a call to attend to the just judgments of the Lord. "If "any man have an ear, let him hear. He that "leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: he "that killeth with the sword, must be killed with "the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of "the saints."

1. Hitherto we have beheld *the secular beast* triumphant, wearing out the *saints,* at the instigation of *his little horn,* by leading them into captivity or by mercilessly putting them to death *: we are now summoned

* *Perpetual confinement,* or *the galleys,* was the fate of those French protestants after *the revocation of the edict of Nantz,* who

summoned to attend to the just retribution of a righteous God. The *full* execution of this sentence, long since pronounced upon *the beast*, is as yet future: for it will not take place, until the last decisive battle of *Armageddon*, after the termination of *the* 1260 *years*. Then, we are taught by St. John, that *the beast* shall go into *perdition*, being *taken* along with his associate *the false prophet* and cast into the lake of fire; and by Daniel, that *the beast* shall be *slain*, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame.

2. This I apprehend to be the ultimate meaning of the prophecy; nevertheless it seems, in some measure, to have begun already to receive its accomplishment. *They that lead into captivity, and they that kill with the sword*, is so general and comprehensive an expression, that it seems necessarily to include, not only *the secular instruments* of papal persecution, but likewise *the ecclesiastical promoters* of it: accordingly, both Daniel and St. John connect the fate of *the beast* with that of *the little horn* or *the false prophet*. We have beheld then in France the descendant and successor of those, whose memory has been rendered infamous by *the diabolical crusade against the Protestants of Provence*, by *the blood-stained night of*

who escaped the stroke of the sword. To the eternal disgrace of *Louis the fourteenth*, many of the *female* protestants, even *young girls*, were transported as *slaves* to the West-India colonies, merely because they refused to worship idols, and invocate dead saints.

*St. Bartholomew**, by *the perfidious revocation of the edict of Nantz*†, himself *led into captivity* and *slain with the sword.* We have beheld numbers of his papal clergy *crowded together into gaols,* and *put to death*‡. We have beheld the sovereign Pontiff, *that man of sin* who had led so many thousands captive, himself *go into capti-*

* "*The French king* gloryeth in his letters to *the Pope*, that "he had slain 70,000 heretics in a few days." Isaacson's Chron. cited by Sharpe in *An Inquiry into the Description of Babylon*, p. 33. Bossuet acknowledges the murder of only 30,000.

† "Louis peremptorily required the Protestants in France "to sign a declaration of submission and strict obedience to "his royal orders; and that they should promise to attend the "mass, and entirely omit their own religious meetings; for "otherwise they should forfeit, not only *their lands* and *all* "*other property*, but also *their personal liberty*; the men being "doomed to slavery in the king's galleys for life, and the "women to be shut up for life wherever their enemies should "choose to immure them." It is supposed, that, in the course of this detestable persecution, about *a million of protestants* saved their lives by quitting their country, and that at least 100,000 were murdered (Sharpe's Inquiry into the Description of Babylon, p. 35—39.). Among those, who fled from their disgraced country at that dreadful period, was a pious ancestor of my own.

‡ "The decree was passed on *the 15th day of May* 1792, "which condemned the non-juring clergy to banishment. "About the time of the federation which followed, many of "the clergy were *put to death* with circumstances more or less "sanguinary; great numbers also were crowded together *in* "*gaols*, and *other places of confinement.*" Hist. the Interp. vol. ii. p. 232.

vity.

vity *. The voice of *the seven last thunders* hath long been sealed: but now it hath begun to shake both heaven and earth.

3. We are not however to imagine, that *the infidel tyrant* of *the last days* is allowed to prosper for his own sake. He is doubtless a mere instrument of vengeance in the hand of God. Like his precursor and type, the haughty sovereign of Assyria, he is "the rod of the Lord's anger, sent "against an hypocritical nation and against the "people of his wrath, to take the spoil, and to "take the prey, and to tread them down like the "mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not "so; but it is in his heart to destroy and to cut "off nations not a few." Hence, when he hath "performed his whole work," as "the fruit of "the stout heart of the king of Assyria and the "glory of his high looks" were punished, so "shall he come to his end, and none shall help "him."

* Yet more recently we have witnessed the captivity of the royal family of Spain. April 22, 1809.

SECTION IV.

Concerning the two-horned beast of the earth.

To complete his account of the great promoters and upholders of *the Western Apostasy*, it now only remains, that St. John should describe *the spiritual power*, by the instigation of which *the temporal ten-horned beast* was to persecute *the witnesses* during the space of 1260 *years*. Accordingly, he concludes *the third chapter* of *the little book* with fully developing the character of this tyrannical *empire within an empire*, under the symbol of *a second beast* or *universal empire*, co-existing and co-operating with *the first beast* or *universal empire*.

" And I beheld another beast coming up out of " the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, " and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth " all the power of the first beast before him, and " causeth the earth and them that dwell therein to " worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was " healed. And he doeth great wonders, in order " that he may make fire come down from heaven " on the earth in the sight of men *. And he de-

" ceiveth

* Such I conceive to be the proper translation of the original. This *bringing down of fire from heaven upon earth* was not *itself* a miracle; but wonders were wrought by the beast *in order that* he might possess without dispute or controul the authority

" ceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by means " of those miracles which he had power to do in " the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell " on the earth, that they should make an image " for the beast, which had the wound by a sword " and did live. And it was given unto him to give " life unto the beast's image, in order that the " beast's image should even speak, and *in order* " *that* he* might cause that as many as would " not worship the beast's image should be killed. " And he causeth all, both small and great, rich " and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in

authority thus symbolically described. In our present version it appears as if *the bringing down of fire* was *itself* one of the beast's miracles: whereas the participle ἵνα signifies *in order that* not *so that*. To justify the common version, the particle ὥστε ought to have occupied the place of ἵνα. Thus, after the Apostle has mentioned the different gifts conferred upon the Church, he adds that they were so conferred, " *in order that* " we henceforth should be no more children;" ἵνα μηκετι ωμεν νηπιοι (Ephes. iv. 14.). Thus also the same Apostle exhorts us to " come boldly unto the throne of grace *in order that* we may " obtain mercy:" ἵνα λαβωμεν ἐλεον (Heb. iv. 16). Thus again, on the other hand, St. Mark informs us, that " Jesus yet an- " swered nothing; *so that* Pilate marvelled:" ὥστε θαυμαζειν τον πιλατον (Mark xv. 5.). And thus St. Paul informs the Corinthians, that God comforted him both by the coming of Titus, and by their fervent mind toward him, " *so that*," says he, " I " rejoiced the more:" ὥστε με μαλλον χαρηναι (2 Cor. vii. 7.). There are three other passages, besides this in the Apocalypse, where *in order that* is by our translators erroneously rendered *so that*: Luke xvi. 26. Rom. i. 20, and Galat. v. 17.

* That is to say, *the beast*, not *the image*, might cause. See Dr. Doddridge and Archdeacon Woodhouse in loc.

" their

" their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that
" no man might buy or sell, save he that had the
" mark, or the name of the beast, or the number
" of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him, that
" hath understanding, count the number of the
" beast: for it is the number of a man; and his
" number is six hundred threescore and six."

I. A commentator upon the prophecies of Daniel and St. John can never be too much upon his guard against the fascinating idea, that he may expect to find *every passing event of his own day* there predicted. Before he ventures to introduce any exposition founded upon *present* circumstances, he ought to make it clearly appear, that it both accords with *the chronological* order so carefully preserved in those prophecies, that it strictly harmonizes with *the language of symbols*, and that it demonstrates *every* part of the prediction to tally *exactly* with its supposed accomplishment. How far *I* have attended to this sound canon of interpretation in the remarks already made upon the character of *the king who was to magnify himself above every God*, upon *the scoffers of the last days*, and upon *the tremendous calamities conceived to have been introduced by the blast of the third woe-trumpet*, the cautious reader must decide. My object, however I may have succeeded, has been the serious investigation of truth, not the mere establishment of a system. I have endeavoured to the best of my judgment to *follow* prophecy, not to *lead* it to my own preconceived scheme of exposition.

Respecting

Respecting this *second apocalyptic beast*, truth constrains me to say, that neither Mr. Kett, nor Mr. Galloway, appear to me to have attended to the foregoing canon in their remarks upon its prophetic character.

1. Mr. Kett thinks, that *the second beast* and *the image* are *Infidelity* and *Democratic tyranny;* that *the two horns of the beast* are *the German illuminati* and *French pseudo-philosophers;* and that *the particular democratic tyranny symbolized by the image* is *the revolutionary republic of France.* Having laid down these principles, he observes (what no doubt is perfectly true), that it was *Infidelity*, which so bewitched the minds of the people as to induce them to set up *the atheistical republic;* and that, when *the image* was thus set up, it caused as many as would not worship it to be killed *. He further observes, that all, both high and low, rich and poor, were compelled to wear *a mark* in their foreheads, *the tri-coloured cockade*, as acknowledging the authority of *the beast* and *his image* †; and that those, who refused this badge of democratic atheism, were formally proscribed, and deprived of the common rights of humanity ‡.

* I may here repeat my former observation, that it was not *the image* which caused such as would not worship it to be slain, but *the beast.*

† Mr. Kett does not expressly *say* this: but I fancy it is what he *means.* See Hist. the Interp. vol. i. p. 396, 420.

‡ Hist. the Interp. vol. i. p. 418, 419; vol. ii. p. 152—208.

In

In this interpretation Mr. Kett has only noticed such parts of the prophecy as apparently accord with it: he is totally silent respecting several particulars, which are altogether inapplicable to *Infidelity* and *Revolutionary France*. Such being the case, his interpretation cannot be valid: for no exposition of a prophecy is admissible, except the prophecy agree with its supposed accomplishment in *every* particular *—St. John describes *the second beast* as "doing great wonders, in order that he "may make fire come down from heaven on the "earth in the sight of men; and as deceiving "them that dwell on the earth by means of those "miracles, which he had power to do in the sight "of the first beast." *The second beast* therefore must plainly be some power, which comes, like *the man of sin*, with signs and lying wonders, deceiving for a season the whole world with pretended miracles. Such a character as this however by no means answers to *Infidelity*. Modern philosophers, so far from making any claims to miraculous powers, take a pleasure in scoffing at even the real miracles recorded in Scripture. How is it possible then that *Infidelity* can be *the second beast?* —So again: if we ask an unprejudiced reader of

* It is much to be doubted, whether *the very principle* of this interpretation be admissible, independent of all the objections to which it is liable. It seems to me so little agreeable to symbolical analogy to term Infidelity *a beast* or *an universal visible empire*, that I should certainly not have ventured myself to bring forward such an explanation of the symbol in question.

the

the whole prediction relative to *the two apocalyptic beasts*, what his sentiments are respecting them; he will answer, that, *whatever powers* those *two beasts* may symbolize, they are evidently *two co-existing powers*, linked together in the closest manner, perfectly friendly to each other, and apparently contributing their mutual strength for the accomplishment of some common design. I confidently appeal to any person not previously wedded to some favourite system, whether this be not the plain and obvious meaning of the prophecy *. Now, whether *the first beast* be *the Papacy*, as Mr. Kett supposes, or *the Roman empire in its divided state after it had elapsed into idolatry*, as I have endeavoured to prove; in either case, if *Infidelity* be *the second beast*, it certainly has shewn itself the very reverse of being friendly to *the first beast:* for the anti-social part of the Jacobin con-

* This point is so self-evident, that some commentators have thence run into the very contrary extreme to that of Mr. Kett; and have imagined, that *the two beasts* are actually *one and the same power*, or, as they express it, *the same Antichrist under two different symbols* (See Pol. Synop. in loc.). Indeed either this, or something very nearly akin to it, is the fault chargeable upon the systems both of Mr. Mede, Bp. Newton, Dr. Zouch, and Mr. Whitaker. Such an opinion, although certainly not agreeable to the plain declaration of the Apostle, who assures us that *the second beast* is "*another* beast" and therefore not *the same* as *the first beast*, serves at least to shew, that none of these commentators ever supposed *the two beasts* to be *hostile* to each other. Mr. Mede justly remarks, that they are linked together by the strongest bonds of friendship: "summa neces-"situdine inter se devinctæ."

spiracy

spiracy was as steadily directed against all regular government, as its anti-christian part was against all religion. Before Mr. Kett's exposition therefore can be allowed to be well-founded, he must point out in what manner *Infidelity* " caused the " earth and all them which dwell therein to wor- " ship the beast whose deadly wound was healed;" that is to say, in what manner *Infidelity* caused the whole world to devote themselves to the apostate principles upheld by *the beast.* He may possibly say, that Buonapartè has now taken those apostate principles under his special protection, and has formally entered into a league with *the Pope.* This however is not the point. The question is not what *an ambitious individual* has done merely to serve his own purposes: but what *Infidelity* has done, that *Infidelity* which set up *the atheistical republic,* or *the image* (as Mr. Kett supposes) of *the beast.* Now *Infidelity* placed itself in direct opposition to *all* religion; and what Buonapartè has done has been simply to avail himself of the wild confusion excited by *Infidelity.* The favour therefore, which *he* has shewn to Popery, can by no ingenuity be construed into an act of *that Infidelity* which was the parent of *French democracy.* Since *Infidelity* then has shewn the most determined hostility to *the first beast,* whether *the Papacy* or *the divided Roman empire* be symbolized by *that beast,* how is it possible that *Infidelity* can be *the second beast?*—This will be yet more evident, when we consider that St. John, with a view to

give

give us an insight into the true character of *the second beast*, styles him *a false prophet* *. Now, since *a true prophet* is one, who professes himself a servant of God, and who either delivers true predictions, or who faithfully preaches the Gospel of Christ †; a *false prophet* must be one, who equally professes himself a servant of God, but who either delivers false predictions, or who garbles and corrupts the Gospel of Christ. It is evident therefore, that *Infidelity* cannot be *the false prophet* of the Apocalypse; because it answers to neither of these descriptions of *a false prophet*. *Infidelity* indeed zealously propagated the doctrines of a false philosophy, and is consequently *a false teacher*: but it certainly cannot be styled, with any propriety, *a false prophet;* because, so far from claiming a divine commission, like *Popery* and *Mohammedism*, it became as an absolutely independent teacher, ridiculing even the very existence of a Deity. Accordingly we find, that St. Peter, when foretelling the atheists of the last days, carefully preserves the distinction between *false prophets* and *false teachers*. He observes, that, as there were *false prophets* among the ancient people of God, who imposed upon them with pretended commissions from heaven; so there should be *false teachers* among the Christians of *the last days*, who privily

* Compare Rev. xix. 20. with Rev. xiii. 13, 14.

† This last is a signification of the word peculiar to the New Testament. I have already noticed it; and therefore it is superfluous to say any thing more upon the subject.

should

should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them *. If then these teachers were to *deny* the Lord that bought them, it is plain that they could not *come in his name* like the false prophets of Israel. Hence St. Peter, with the strictest propriety, terms the ancient impostors *false prophets;* but describes the modern ones, as being only *false teachers*—In addition to these objections, I might inquire with what justice *the French Republic* can be denominated *an image of the beast:* but since it has been shewn that *Infidelity* cannot be *the second beast,* it is superfluous to discuss that part of Mr. Kett's scheme which is only subordinate.

2. Mr. Galloway's system is nearly allied to that of Mr. Kett, though in some particulars it differs materially from it. He supposes, that *the earth,* out of which *the beast* arose, is *France;* that *the beast* himself is *the French Republic;* that *his head* is *the legislature;* that *his two horns* are *the two committees of safety;* that *the fire,* which he brought down from heaven to earth, is *the wrath of God;* that *the wonders,* which he performed, are *the victories of France;* that *the image,* which he set up, and to which he gave life and speech, is *the prostitute goddess of reason and liberty;* that *his mark* is *the cap of liberty* and *the tri-coloured cockade;* and that *the number* 666, the number also of *a man,* must be sought for in the name of

* 2 Pet. ii. 1.

the

the last French monarch *Louis*, when Latinized, *Ludovicus* *.

The *first objection* to Mr. Galloway's interpretation is the same as one that has already been made to Mr. Kett's. It represents *the second beast*, as *hostile*, instead of *friendly*, to *the first*: for Mr. Galloway, like Mr. Kett, supposes *the first beast* to be *the Papacy*. This objection Mr. Galloway struggles, and (I think) ineffectually struggles, to remove: to *me* at least all his arguments have only served to convince, that it never can be removed either by himself or by Mr. Kett: and, be it again observed, the objection is equally forcible, whether *the first beast* be *the Papacy*, or *the divided Roman Empire*—The *second objection* is, that without the least authority he pronounces *the earth* in this particular part of the prophecy to mean *France*. *The earth*, as is sufficiently evident from the general context, means throughout the whole Apocalypse *the Roman Empire*. This appears no

* L 50
U 5
D 500
O 0
V 5
I 1
C 100
V 5
S 0

666

where

where more clearly than in the present chapter, where *all they that dwell upon the earth* are described as worshipping, or devoting themselves to the apostate principles of, *the ten-horned beast* *. Yet does Mr. Galloway declare, that *the earth*, in a subsequent part of this very chapter, means *France*—The *third objection* is, that *the French Republic* cannot be denominated *a false prophet. The second beast* however is *the false prophet* of the Revelation. Therefore *the French Republic* cannot be *the second beast*—The *fourth objection* is, that, if the wonders performed by *the second beast* mean only *the French victories*, it does not appear how he could *deceive* them that dwell upon *the earth* with such wonders as these. The miracles, wrought by *the beast*, are immediately connected with his bringing down fire from *heaven*, and his giving life and utterance to *an image*; and by these miracles, thus performed, he is said to *deceive* the world. Such is the simple assertion of the prophet; an assertion, which no critical art can torture to mean *Gallic military exploits*—The *last objection*, which I shall make, is to the notion, that we are to seek for *the number of the beast* in the name *Ludovicus*. This notion is untenable even according to Mr. Galloway's own scheme. He supposes, that *the number* 666 is *the number of the second beast*, of *that beast* in short which he conceives to be *the French Republic*. Let us for a moment allow

* Rev. xiii. 3, 8.

that

that he is right in this supposition, and discuss the point accordingly. St. John informs us, that *the second beast* should permit no man either to buy or to sell, " save he that had the mark, or " the name of the beast, or the number of his " name." Hence it is evident, that *the name of the beast* (supposing with Mr. Galloway that *the second beast* is here intended), which comprehends *his mystic number*, should be something so peculiarly dear to him, that he should compel all his votaries, in some manner or another, to bear it, under pain of a severe interdict. But has this been the case with the chaotic republic and the name *Ludovicus?* Has *she* forbidden all to buy or sell, except those who bore, or (to admit the *lowest* sense) who reverenced, the name of her last unfortunate sovereign? Is it not notorious to the whole world, that her conduct has been exactly the reverse? So far from none being permitted by her to exercise the common rights of society except the royalists, or, (to bestow upon them the name of their king) *the Ludovicians*, these of all others are the very persons whom she has formally proscribed. We may reasonably then conclude, that, although the word *Ludovicus* happens to contain *the number* 666, it is not on that account alone *the name of the beast*, any more than various other words, which may possibly contain the same number. Thus it appears, that, even upon Mr. Galloway's own principles, *Ludovicus* cannot be *the name of the beast:* much less therefore can it be that mys-

terious name, when we find that he has completely mistaken *the one beast* for *the other*, attributing to *the second beast* the name which in reality belongs to *the first*. What St. John says, in his particular description of *the name*, is certainly ambiguous; insomuch that, had he said nothing more upon the subject, it might have been a matter of doubt, whether *the name* was the name of *the first* or of *the second beast*. But he has amply cleared up this point in various other passages, wherein he plainly intimates, that *the name* is the name of *that beast* for whom *an image* was made *. But *the beast* for whom *an image* was made, is *the first beast:* consequently *the name* is the name of *the first beast*, and not of *the second* as Mr. Galloway erroneously supposes. Arguing then with him, either upon his own principles, or upon the real state of the case, we shall find it equally impossible to admit that *Ludovicus* is *the name of the beast* †.

On

* See Rev. xiv. 11.—xv. 2.—xix. 20. and xx. 4.

† Both Mr. Galloway and Mr. Kett suppose, that *the two-horned beast of the earth* is the same as *the beast of the abyss* which makes war upon *the witnesses*. I have already shewn such an idea to be erroneous (See Galloway's Comment. p. 162—208. and Hist. the Interp. vol. i. p. 391.). Their sentiments upon this point must necessarily lead them both into the opinion, that *the faithful witnesses of God* are *the popish clergy* who were murdered and banished by the atheistical republicans of France. Mr. Galloway accordingly avows without hesitation, that *the saints of God*, who are mentioned by Daniel as worn out by *the little horn*, and who are evidently the

same

On these grounds I am constrained to think, that both Mr. Kett and Mr. Galloway have erred in their respective interpretations of the prophetic character of *the second beast* and *the image**.

3. Bp.

same as *the apocalytic witnesses*, are *those very popish clergy*. The impropriety and erroneousness of such an opinion has already been so fully pointed out, that it is superfluous now to resume the subject.

* 1. Mr. Sharpe supposes *the second beast* to be *the secular Roman empire under Justinian*.

Justinian however was the representative of *the sixth head of the first beast*. Hence it is manifest, that Mr. Sharpe makes *the second beast* to be in fact the same as *the first*. Independent of this palpable tautology, which the prophet carefully guards us against by assuring us that *the second beast* was *another beast*, the Emperor Justinian neither performed any miracles for the purpose of deceiving those that dwelt upon *the earth*, nor can he or any of his successors be termed *a false prophet*. In short, whatever power be intended by *the second beast* or *the false prophet*, it must be some power *at this present moment* in existence, because *the false prophet* is not to be destroyed until *the battle of Armageddon* at *the expiration of the* 1260 *years* (Rev. xix. 20.). *The second beast* therefore cannot be *the Empire of Justinian*, because that has long since been subverted by the Turks. Yet does Mr. Sharpe censure all preceding commentators, as having entirely misunderstood the character of *the second beast*, because they apply it to *the Pope himself*: he ought rather to have said *the Roman clergy*, for I doubt whether any commentators ever supposed *the Pope himself* to be intended by *the second beast*. Append. to *An Inquiry into the Description of Babylon*. p. 3—6.

2. Mr. Bicheno endeavours to prove, that *the second beast* is *the tyranny exercised by the Capets* and perfected by Louis XIV. and that *the image* is *the system of persecution adopted by them against the Protestants*.

3. Bp. Newton's scheme is much less objectionable. That valuable commentator clearly saw, that *the*

The memory of him who revoked the edict of Nantz I detest as much as Mr. Bicheno himself can do: but mere abhorrence is no argument. Not to mention other objections, there is one prominent defect in this scheme, which seems to me to render the whole of it untenable. *The second beast* or *the false prophet*, for Mr. Bicheno very justly maintains their identity, is to be overthrown at *the battle of Armageddon* under *the last vial;* and *the Ottoman empire*, for so Mr. Bicheno with equal propriety understands *the mystic Euphrates*, is to be subverted under *the sixth vial.* But *the Ottoman* empire is not yet subverted; therefore *the sixth vial* is not yet poured out: and, if *the sixth vial* be not yet poured out; of course *the seventh* is not: and, if *the seventh* be not, *the false prophet* is not yet overthrown: and, if he be not yet overthrown, he is now in existence. *The tyranny of the Capets* however is *already* overthrown: therefore *that tyranny* cannot be *the second beast.* Signs of the Times. Part i. p. 17—25.

In his reply to me, Mr. Bicheno gives up the idea that *the second beast* symbolizes *the tyranny of the Capets;* and now asserts, that he represents *the tyrannical power or monarchy of France, abstracted from every consideration of the dynasty which directed the power of that kingdom,* in short, *the tyranny of France from Pepin even to Napoleon.* This alteration, it is true, removes my objection: but it renders Mr. Bicheno's scheme altogether contradictory. It makes *the beast* at once the patron and the persecutor of *the witnesses:* their patron, when (according to another part of the scheme) *the slain witnesses* revived under the protection of revolutionary France; their persecutor, when (likewise according to the scheme) they were slain by the instrumentality of the Capetian tyranny. But see this matter discussed at large in my answer to Mr. Bicheno.

3. Mr. Lowman thinks, that *the second beast* symbolizes *the German ecclesiastical electors, prince-bishops, baronial-abbots, and*

the two apocalyptic beasts instead of being at utter enmity with each other, were united in the closest bonds of friendship. Having therefore adopted the opinion that *the first beast* was *the Papacy*, he concluded that *the second* was *the Roman Church;* thus injudiciously separating what ought never to have been divided, and thus rending (as it were) *the head* from *the body.*

II. *The second beast* appears to me, as he did to Mr. Mede, to be *the line of the Roman pontiffs at the head of their clergy* *. The fact is, what might seem a contradiction till it was actually fulfilled, *the two beasts* are *two universal empires,* not only existing together each under its proper and distinct head, but mutually supporting and strengthening each other. Daniel however declares, that *the ten-horned beast* is *the last universal empire;* and yet St. John represents *this very beast* as co-existing with *another beast*, or *another universal empire:*

and other ecclesiastico-temporal states that resemble in their constitution the bishopric of Rome united with St. Peter's patrimony.

Independent of every other objection that might be made to this scheme, it has received a *practical confutation.* The recently adopted system of *secularization,* for the purpose of *indemnifying* (as it is called) those German temporal princes who have been despoiled of their territories by the robberies of France, has effectually slain this supposed *second beast* previous to *the war of Armageddon,* under *the seventh vial,* to which period his overthrow is assigned by the prophet. Hence it is manifest, that *the second beast* certainly cannot be what Mr. Lowman supposes him to be. Paraph. in loc.

* "Bestia bicornis, sive pseudopropheta, pontifex est Romanus cum suo clero." Com. Apoc. in loc.

for,

for, that *the two beasts* are *two powers perfectly distinct from each other*, is manifest, not only from their different symbolical conformation, but from the express words of the prophet: "I beheld," says he, "*another beast.*" Hence it is plain, that *the second apocalyptic beast* cannot *be a temporal universal empire:* both because it is physically impossible, that *two temporal empires*, each universal so far as *the Church* is concerned, should exist together; and because, if *the second beast* of the Apocalypse were *a temporal empire*, it would be a *fifth temporal empire*, whereas Daniel declares that there shall only be *four*. But, if *the second beast* be *not a temporal empire*, it must be *a spiritual empire;* for nothing but *a spiritual empire* can coexist with *a temporal empire.* Accordingly, we find this to be the very case: for St. John, as if to prevent the possibility of error, explicitly informs us, that *the second beast* should be *a false prophet* *, or *an ecclesiastical power;* which, under the pretence of a divine commission, should grievously corrupt the genuine Gospel of Christ †.

Here then we have a plain prediction of *some spiritual power*, which should come in the name of God as a sound evangelical prophet or preacher; which should arrogate to itself *universal* or *catholic*

* Compare Rev. xiii. 12—17. with Rev. xix. 20.

† "*The false prophet*," says Bp. Newton very justly, "is *a* "*body or succession of men propagating false doctrines, and teach-*"*ing lies for sacred truths.*" *The second beast* is manifestly styled *a false prophet* in direct opposition to *the two mystic witnesses*, who are *the true prophets of God.*

authority

authority in religious matters; which should co-exist upon the most friendly terms with *the ten-horned temporal empire*, instigating it to persecute, during the space of 42 *prophetic months* or 1260 *years*, all such as should dare to dispute its usurped domination; and which, in short, should solve the symbolical problem of *two contemporary beasts*, by exhibiting to the world the singular spectacle of *a complete empire within an empire*. Where we are to look for this power, since *the great Roman beast* put forth *ten horns*, and during the period of his existence under *his last secular head the Carlovingian line of feudal Emperors*, let the impartial voice of history determine: and that voice without hesitation will declare, that *the catholic church of Rome*, the *spiritual empire* of which *the Pope* is *the allowed head*, can alone answer to the prophetic description of such a power*. At its first rise, *the Papacy* appears in the book of Daniel only as *a little horn* springing out of *the first*

* The Papists, by a wonderful fatality, have constantly styled themselves *Catholics*, and their particular church *the catholic Church*; thus holding themselves forth as members of the body of *the second beast*, or *catholic ecclesiastical empire*. In *this* sense of the word, we readily concede to them the title of *Catholics*: in its *genuine* sense, as importing *members of the spiritual body of Christ*, we claim the title no less than themselves. These pretended *Catholics* the Church of England uniformly denominates *Papists*; and, as I have no inclination to uncatholicise myself, I have throughout the present work adopted her phraseology in preference to the more fashionable one of the day.

or *secular beast;* but *that little horn* is represented as soon becoming exceeding powerful, and as influencing the actions of *the whole beast.* When *the saints* were given into its hand in *the year* 606, *the papal kingdom* became *an universal spiritual empire;* and, as such, it is represented by St. John under the symbol of *a distinct beast* having *a proper head* and *horns* of his own. That *the little horn of the Roman beast* typifies *the same power as the second apocalyptic beast,* is manifest indeed from this circumstance: Daniel, who fully delineates the character of *the little horn,* is entirely silent respecting *the two-horned beast;* and St. John, who as fully delineates the character of *the two-horned beast,* is entirely silent respecting *the little horn.* Accordingly we find, that *the little horn* and *the two horned beast,* act precisely in the same capacity; each exercising all the power of *the first beast* before him, each being *a false seer* or *prophet,* and each perishing in one common destruction with *the first* or *secular beast* *.

1. *The second beast sprang up out of the earth, and is described as being* another *beast perfectly distinct from the first.*

In the language of the Apocalypse, *the earth* denotes *the Roman empire* †; the *spiritual power* therefore,

* Compare Dan. vii. 8, 11, 21, 25, 26. with Rev. xiii. 5, 7, 12, 15, 16, 17. and xix. 20.

† Mr. Mede and Bp. Newton suppose, that *the beast rising out of the earth* means, that *the power typified by the beast should grow*

therefore, symbolized *by the beast*, must be sought for within the limits of *that empire*. *There*, accordingly, we find *the ecclesiastical empire of the Pope*. *The sixth head of the temporal beast* long claimed and exercised supremacy over *the Church*: but, in *the year* 606, the tyrant Phocas constituted Pope Boniface *supreme head in spirituals*, and bestowed upon him the title of *Universal Bishop*. In this year then *the second beast*, or *the universal empire*

grow up like a plant silently and without noise, intimating further that "the greatest prelates have often been raised from monks "and men of *the lowest birth and parentage*." Mr. Whitaker and Dr. Zouch, confining without any just warrant the character of *the beast* to *the monastic orders*, think that the phrase implies *his rise in the East*; and Mr. Whitaker adds, that it may partly allude to the rise of those orders *in times of peace and prosperity*. Both these interpretations seem to me to be needless, not to say unauthorized refinements. Since *the earth*, throughout the whole Apocalypse, means *the Roman empire*, and no where more decidedly so than in the present chapter; what occasion is there to annex to it here a fresh idea? The prophet had just before declared, that *the whole earth* wondered after *the great Roman beast*, and that all that dwell upon *the earth* should worship him (Rev. xiii. 3, 8.); and he now proceeds to inform us, that he beheld *another beast* coming up out of *the earth* (Rev. xiii. 11.), teaching us afterwards, that *this other beast* should deceive those that dwelt on *the earth* (Rev. xiii. 14.). Now it is only reasonable to suppose, that what the word *earth* means in one part of a chapter, it should mean in another. Since then *the earth* which wondered after *the Roman beast* can only mean *those who dwelt upon that earth*, and since *those who dwelt upon the earth* can only mean *the inhabitants of the Roman empire*; we must surely conclude, that, when *a beast* is said to come up out of *this very earth*, *the Roman empire* is here likewise intended.

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of the Pope, arose out of *the earth:* and it has ever been the policy of its ruler to separate it from *the temporal empire*, to keep it perfectly distinct as an *imperium in imperio*, and never to suffer it to lose its prophetic character of "*another beast.*" To cite history for the purpose of proving so well known a fact seems almost superfluous, nevertheless I cannot refrain from noticing a single incident which amply explains the nature of this policy of *the Popes*. When *Edward the first* of England wished to impose a tax upon the Clergy, "*Boniface the eighth*, "who had succeeded *Celestine* in the papal throne, "was determined to resume the authority which "had been for some time relaxed by his prede- "cessors, and to become the protector of the spi- "ritual order, against all invaders. For this pur- "pose he issued very early in his pontificate a "general bull, prohibiting all princes from levy- "ing without his consent any taxes upon the "clergy, and all clergymen from submitting to "such impositions; and he threatened both of "them with the penalties of excommunication "in case of disobedience. No sooner therefore "had the king made his demand on the clergy "of the fifth of their moveables, than they in- "trenched themselves under the bull of *Pope* "*Boniface*, and pleaded conscience in refusing to "comply with the requisition. Edward avoided "proceeding immediately to extremities on this "account; but having given orders to lock up

"all

" all their granaries and barns, and prohibited " all rent to be paid to them, he appointed a new " synod to confer with him upon his demand. " The primate, not intimidated by Edward's reso- " lution, plainly told him, that the clergy owed " obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and " their temporal; but their duty bound them to a " much stricter attachment to the former than to " the latter: they could not therefore comply with " his commands, which were directly contrary to " the positive prohibition of the sovereign pon- " tiff *." The subsequent steps taken by Edward to inforce obedience it is needless here to detail: enough has been said to shew in what manner *the second beast*, which sprung out of *the* earth, was " *another* beast."

2. *He had two horns like the horns of a lamb.*

As *the secular beast* is represented with *seven heads* and *ten horns*, so *the ecclesiastical beast* appears with only *one head* and *two horns*. Now, since we have already seen, that *the secular beast under his last head* is *the divided Roman empire under the line of Carlovingian emperors; the ecclesiastical beast under his single head*, who has co-existed and co-operated with *the secular beast*, must necessarily be *the corrupt church of Rome under the line of those pretended universal bishops, the Popes*. And here we cannot but observe the wonderful exactness with which the two principal apocalyptic symbols,

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxix. p. 205, 206.

the

the first and *the second beast*, are contrived. The *Roman Empire*, having existed under *seven different constitutions*, is described by *a beast with seven heads;* but *the catholic church of Rome*, never having existed under more than *one form of government*, namely *the papal*, is therefore described by *a beast with only one head.*

This head however is furnished with *two horns.* In the language of symbols, *horns* are *kingdoms:* consequently *the horns of an ecclesiastical beast* must be *ecclesiastical kingdoms.* Now I know not what idea we can annex to *an ecclesiastical kingdom*, subservient to *the head of an ecclesiatical empire*, except that of *a regularly organized body of ecclesiastics subject primarily to their own immediate superior, and ultimately to the head of the whole empire.* If *the church of Rome* then be intended by *the second apocalyptic beast*, and *the Pope* by *the head of that beast*, it must comprehend *two such ecclesiastical kingdoms;* that is to say, it must comprehend *two regularly organized bodies of ecclesiastics, distinct from each other, and subject primarily to their respective superiors, and ultimately to the Pope.*

Mr. Whitaker and Dr. Zouch suppose that *the two horns* are *the monks*, who were at first divided into *two classes: the Cenobites*, who (to adopt the language of Mr. Gibbon) "lived under a common "and regular discipline: and the *Anachorets*, who "indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism." And Mr. Whitaker adds, that in a later age the papal

papal authority was more especially supported by *two mendicant orders of monks, the Dominicans* and *Franciscans.*

This opinion seems to me by no means tenable for various reasons—Monasticism first arose in the East about *the year* 305, and thence passed into the West. *The second apocalyptic beast* however, or *the catholic empire of the Pope*, did not spring up out of the earth till *the year* 606. Consequently *the original twofold division of the monks* in *the East* cannot make them *the two horns of a beast*, which sprang up, long after that division, in *the West*—But it may be said, that, although their extraction be *oriental*, there is no inconsistency in supposing, that they might *afterwards* become *horns of the beast*, when they had extended themselves *westward* and mightily exerted themselves in support of the papal authority. Here then another objection presents itself. I readily allow, that the character of *the Cenobites* perfectly answers to the character of an *ecclesiastical horn* or *kingdom.* They were *a regularly organized body of men, bound by certain laws, and subject first to their superior and in after ages through him to the Pope.* But I can discover none of the characteristics of *a horn* in *the Anachorets.* These, so far from being united under a settled government, and from professing obedience to a superior, " renounced the convent as they had " renounced the world;" and, plunging into the deepest solitudes of the desert far from the haunts of men, " indulged their unsocial, *independent*, " fanaticism."

"fanaticism." Such being the case, *the Anachorets* can with no more propriety be esteemed *a horn* or *regular ecclesiastical government*, than *men in a nomade state* can be considered as constituting *a regular secular government*—Perhaps this part of the scheme may be given up, and it may be asserted that *the Dominicans* and *Franciscans* are *the two horns* exclusively, neither of those two orders being liable to be charged with the disqualification of the *Anachorets*. Here again fresh objections still arise. Both those orders are comparatively of a late date: and are we to suppose, notwithstanding the early rise of monasticism, that *the beast* had *no horns* till the days of Dominic and Francis? Or even, if we venture to adopt such a supposition, were *the Dominicans* and *Franciscans* the *only* orders? That they were the most *conspicuous* orders during three centuries, is no doubt perfectly true; but they were certainly very far from standing *alone*. As *the ten horns of the secular beast* represent precisely that number of kingdoms, though some of them were strong and some weak; so, arguing at least from analogy, had *the horns of the ecclesiastical beast* been designed to represent *the monastic orders*, there would surely have been just as many *horns* as there were *orders*, though some of those were strong and some weak.

In opposition then to this scheme which seems to me to be clogged with too many difficulties to be admissible, I am more inclined to think with Bp. Newton, that *the two horns* are *the Romish clergy*,

clergy, regular and secular. The first of these classes comprehends *all the various monastic orders; the second* comprehends *the whole body of parochial clergy. These two classes* I conceive to be *the two ecclesiastical horns* or *kingdoms* of *the catholic empire of the Pope.* In every particular they answer to the character of *horns,* being *two distinct regularly organized bodies, subject first to their own particular superiors, and ultimately to the Pope the head of the whole empire* *.

The manner, in which these *two ecclesiastical kingdoms* of *the papal empire* were erected, will best appear by adverting to history.

(1.) *The first horn of the beast* I suppose to be *the regular popish clergy.*

" The imperious pontiffs," says Mosheim, " al-
" ways fond of exerting their authority, exempted
" by degrees *the monastic orders* from the juris-
" diction of the bishops. *The monks,* in return
" for this important service, devoted themselves
" wholly to advance the interests, and to main-
" tain the dignity, of *the bishop of Rome.* They
" made his cause their own; and represented
" him as a sort of god to the ignorant multitude,
" over whom they had gained a prodigious as-
" cendant by the notion that generally prevailed

* Mr. Mede thinks, that *the two horns* mean *the twofold power of binding and loosing* claimed by the Popes as vicars of Christ and successors of the Apostles. But such an idea is incongruous with the analogy of symbolical language, in which *horns* denote *kingdoms.*

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" of the sanctity of *the monastic order* *." The same historian further observes, " *The monastic* " *orders* and *religious societies* have always been " considered by the *Roman pontiffs* as the prin- " cipal support of their authority and dominion. " It is chiefly by them that they rule the Church, " maintain their influence on the minds of the " people, and augment the number of their vo- " taries †." Of this the following passage affords a remarkable instance. " The power of *the Do-* " *minicans* and *Franciscans* greatly surpassed that " of the other two orders, and rendered them sin- " gularly conspicuous in the eyes of the world. " During three centuries these two fraternities " governed, with an almost universal and absolute " sway, both church and state; filled the most " eminent posts ecclesiastical and civil; taught in " the universities and churches with an authority, " before which all opposition was silent; and " maintained the pretended majesty of *the Roman* " *pontiffs* against kings, princes, bishops, and he- " retics, with incredible ardor and success. *The* " *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* were before the " Reformation what *the Jesuits* have been since " that happy and glorious period; the very soul " of the hierarchy, the engines of the state, the " secret springs of the motions of the one and of " the other, and the authors and directors of every

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 172.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 184.

" great

" great and important event both in the religious " and political world *."

The complete distinctness of *this first horn* or *ecclesiastical kingdom of the beast* from the other, by means of their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, will appear yet more evidently from the following passage. " While *the pontiffs* accumu- " lated upon *the mendicants* the most honourable " distinctions and the most valuable privileges " which they had to bestow, they exposed them " still more and more to the envy and hatred of " the rest of the clergy; and this hatred was " considerably increased by the audacious arro- " gance that discovered itself every where in the " conduct of these supercilious orders. They " had the presumption to declare publicly, that " they had a divine impulse and commission to " illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus; " they treated with the utmost insolence and con- " tempt all the different ranks and orders of the " priesthood; they affirmed without a blush, that " the true method of obtaining salvation was " revealed to them alone; proclaimed with os- " tentation the superior efficacy and virtue of " their indulgences; and vaunted, beyond mea- " sure, their interests at the court of heaven, and " their familiar connections with the Supreme " Being, the Virgin Mary, and the saints in " glory. By these impious wiles they so deluded

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 195.

" and captivated the miserable and blinded multi-
" tude, that they would not intrust any others but
" the mendicants with the care of their souls, their
" spiritual and eternal concerns *."

Thus it appears, that *the monastic orders* constituted *a well organized body*, governed by their own laws, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, subject to *their respective generals or superiors*, but paying at the same time an implicit obedience to *the Pope*. In short, they perfectly answer to every idea that we can form of *an ecclesiastical kingdom* under the control of *the head of an ecclesiastical empire*.

(2.) *The second horn of the beast* I suppose to be *the secular popish clergy*.

As *the monks* were subject, first to *the superiors of their orders*, and ultimately to *the Pope*; so *the secular or parochial clergy* were subject, first to *their respective bishops*, and ultimately to *the sovereign pontiff*. Various preparatory steps were taken towards the erecting of *this second ecclesiastical horn* or *kingdom* before *the year* 606, when *the Pope* was declared *universal Bishop*, and when therefore I date the rise of *the second beast* or *the papal catholic empire*. The decrees of the Emperors, and the metropolitan dignity of Rome, gradually conferred upon *the Popes* an archiepiscopal authority over the western bishops, previous to the time when they were formally declared by Phocas

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 204.

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the head of the universal Church *. In *the eighth century* Germany was reduced under the yoke by an English friar named *Boniface*, whom *Gregory the third* consecrated Archbishop of Mentz; constituting him at the same time his vicar, with full power to call councils, and to constitute bishops in those places, which were by his assistance converted to the Christian faith. In the first of these councils, Boniface presiding in quality of legate of the Roman chair, the clergy signed a certain confession of faith, whereby they obliged themselves, not only to maintain the catholic faith, but also to remain in constant union with *the Roman church* and to be obedient to the successors of St. Peter. "This Boniface," says Puffendorf, "was the first "who put it upon the bishops of Germany to "receive the episcopal pall from *the Pope*, who "sent it to the bishops of France without their "request, thereby to unite them with the Roman "chair. And, when once these ornaments were "become customary amongst them, they were "put upon them afterwards as of absolute ne-"cessity; and the episcopal function was for-"bidden to be exercised by them before they had "received these ornaments †." The same author further observes, "Besides this, *the Popes* assumed

* The reader will find a very circumstantial account of the manner in which *the Bishops of Rome* gradually extended their authority over the West, in Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. viii.

† Introduct. to Hist. of Eur. cited by Whitaker, p. 404.

" to themselves an authority of giving leave to " the bishops to remove from one episcopal see " to another, and obliged all the western bishops " to receive their confirmation from Rome, for " which they were obliged to pay a certain sum " of money as an acknowledgment, which was " since converted to annats. *The Popes* also, by " making void the decisions of the provincial " synods or assemblies, overthrew their autho- " rity: wherefore, when every body plainly per- " ceived that the decrees of these assemblies " could produce no other effects but to be conti- " nually annulled by *the Popes*, without so much " as hearkening to any reasons, they were by " degrees quite abolished. *Pope Gregory the* " *seventh* also forced the bishops to swear an oath " of fealty to *the Pope*, and by a decree *forbad* *, " that none should dare to condemn any one that " had appealed to *the Pope*. They were also not " forgetful in sending legates or nuncios to all " places; whose business was to exercise in the " name of *the Pope* the same authority, which " had formerly belonged to the bishops, metro- " politans, and provincial assemblies †." In this passage mention is made of the oath of fealty exacted by *Gregory the seventh* from the bishops. A similar oath has been imposed, even since the Reformation, by *Pius the fourth* on all the bene-

* *Enacted.*

† Introduct. to Hist. of Eur. cited by Whitaker, p. 406.

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ficed clergy. He decreed, that they should all swear true obedience to *the Roman pontiff*, the successor of St. Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ *. In short, how completely *the clergy under their bishops* became *one of the two ecclesiastical kingdoms of the papal beast*, will best appear from the following oath, set forth by order of *Pope Clement the eighth* to be taken by all bishops at their consecration, and by all metropolitans at their instalment.

"I N. elect of the church of N. from hence-
"forward will be faithful and obedient to St.
"Peter the Apostle, and to the holy Roman
"church, and to our Lord, the lord N. Pope N.
"and to his successors canonically coming in.
"I will neither advise, consent, or do any thing,
"that they may lose life or member, or that their
"persons may be seized, or hands any wise laid
"upon them, or any injuries offered to them
"under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel,
"which they shall intrust me withal, by them-
"selves, their messengers, or letters, I will not
"knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I
"will help them to defend and keep the Roman
"Papacy and the royalties of St. Peter, saving
"my order, against all men. The legate of the
"apostolic see, going and coming, I will honour-
"ably treat and help in his necessities. The
"rights, honours, privileges, and authority, of

* Introduct. to Hist. of Eur. cited by Whitaker, p. 407.

"the

" the holy Roman church, of our lord *the Pope*,
" and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavour
" to preserve, defend, increase, and advance.
" I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty,
" in which shall be plotted againt our said lord,
" and the said Roman church, any thing to the
" hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour,
" state, or power; and, if I shall know any such
" thing to be treated or agitated by any what-
" soever, I will hinder it to my power; and, as
" soon as I can, will signify it to our said lord, or
" to some other by whom it may come to his know-
" ledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the aposto-
" lic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations,
" provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all
" my might, and cause to be observed by others.
" Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord,
" or his aforesaid successors, I will to my power
" persecute, and oppose *."

As for the precise steps, by which *this ecclesiastical kingdom* was finally and perfectly organized, they are well pointed out by Lord Lyttleton in his *History of Henry the second*—" It was now
" an established notion," says he, " that all me-
" tropolitans were only the vicars or rather vice-
" roys of *the Pope* in their several provinces; and
" the pall was the ensign of their office. This
" was too lightly given way to by kings, and
" proved in its consequences one of the deepest

* Whitaker's Comment. p. 408.

" arts,

" arts, by which the policy of the Court of Rome " supported its power. For thus all the greatest " prelates, who might have affected an independ- " dence on that see, had another object of am- " bition set up, namely, an independence on " their own sovereigns, and an imparted share of " the papal dominion over all temporal powers"— And again: " Henry the first did not enough " consider, how much the design of detaching the " clergy from any dependence upon their own " sovereign, and from all ties to their country, " was promoted by forcing them to a life of ce- " libacy: but concurred with the see of Rome, " and with Anselm its minister, in imposing that " yoke upon the English church, which till then " had always refused it—He was also prevailed " upon to suffer *a legate a latere*, the Cardinal " of Crema, to preside in a council held at Lon- " don upon this and other matters, in derogation " to the metropolitan rights of the archbishop " of Canterbury; thereby confirming that dan- " gerous and degrading subjection to *the Bishop* " *of Rome*, which his father had brought upon " the church of England *"—There was yet another step, by which *the second ecclesiastical kingdom of the papal empire* was both completed, and kept in subjection. Well knowing the truth of the maxim *Divide and rule*, the artful pontiffs dexterously contrived to play off *the one kingdom* against

* Hist. of Henry II. cited by Whitaker, p. 410, 411.

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the other, to govern *the secular clergy* by the instrumentality of *the regular*. "Whenever *any* "*bishop*," says Puffendorff, "attempted any thing "against *the Pope's* authority, *the mendicant friars* "with their clamour and noise pursued him every "where like so many hounds, and rendered him "odious to the common people, amongst whom "they were in great veneration through their out- "ward appearance of holiness; and from thence "it came to pass that *the bishops*, who opposed "*the Pope's* authority, never could make a great "party among the common people. Besides this, "*the friars* always kept a watchful eye over the "actions of *the bishops*, giving continual advices "concerning them to their generals residing at "Rome, whereby *the Popes* were enabled to op- "pose timely any design intended against their "authority. And *these friars* proved the main "obstacle, why *the bishops* could not so effectually "oppose the *Pope's* authority which he assumed "over them; so that, being destitute of means to "help themselves, they were forced to follow the "current *."

The *regular* and *secular clergy* then, *under their respective generals* and *bishops*, are *the two horns* or *ecclesiastical kingdoms* of *the papal catholic empire*. These *horns* appeared to the prophet to be of a different form from those of *the first* or *temporal beast*: they resembled *the horns of a lamb*.

* Hist. of Henry II. cited by Whitaker, p. 416.

Now,

Now, when we recollect that *the second beast* is styled *a false prophet*, we can scarcely doubt but that the symbol was so constructed in allusion to his spiritual character. Accordingly, *the two ecclesiastical horns* claimed to be the only servants of the lamb of God, and affected to be like him in meekness and humility. Solemnly devoting themselves to a life of celibacy, and ever engaged in a round of religious ceremonies, they appeared to the deluded populace to be saints indeed, far removed from all the cares and vanities of this transitory world. And, in order that this impression might not be too soon worn off, new saints were at seasonable intervals added to the calendar; and their names enrolled along with those of the real servants of the Lamb, the holy Apostles of the primitive Church. Even *the sovereign pontiff* himself, who had a look more stout than his fellows, delighted nevertheless to style himself, with sanctified hypocrisy, *the servant of the servants of God* *."

3. *But*,

* We may, if we please, suppose *the cardinals* to constitute *the body* of *the second beast;* and we shall then have *the whole Romish Hierarchy* completely pourtrayed. " Prælati Roma-
" nenses in Universitate Pragensi congregati, contra Johan-
" nem Hussum et alios affirmant (in quarto suo decreto seu
" articulo), quod *collegium cardinalium Romæ* sunt *corpus Eccle-*
" *siæ*. Cui respondet Johannes Hussus, *Christum* esse *caput*
" *Ecclesiæ, omnesque fideles Christianos corpus* esse *Ecclesiæ*
" *Christi*. Cui replicant Prælati processu longo et tædii pleno,
" ostendentes, quomodo *Papa* sit *caput*, et quomodo *cardinalium collegium*

3. *But, notwithstanding his lamb-like appearance, the beast spake as a dragon.*

The church of Rome, like a true child of that old serpent the devil, forcibly established and supported idolatry; claimed a proud superiority over all temporal dominion; advanced her interests with all the wily cunning of the serpent; anathematized and persecuted to death the faithful servants of Christ; and esteemed every lie and every imposture, which advanced her authority, a laudable and even pious fraud. That *no faith is to be kept with heretics,* is a well known maxim of this genuine offspring of the father of lies: that *kings excommunicated by the Pope may be deposed and murdered by their subjects,* is another of her maxims: and that *the end sanctifies the means,* that *it is lawful to do evil that good may come,* has been the avowed principle of the Jesuits *. Her dracontine cruelty and ferocity need no proofs. Where *pagan Rome* hath slain her thousands, *papal Rome* hath slain her ten thou-

" *collegium solum,* et non alii *Christiani,* sint *corpus Ecclesiæ.*" Act. et Monument. A. D. 1414. p. 589, 590, 591. cited by Potter, Interp. num. 666. Cap. xix. p. 121.

* The maxims of the Jesuits are these, " That actions intrinsically evil, and directly contrary to the divine laws, " may be innocently performed by those who have so much " power over their own minds, as to join, even ideally, a good " end to this wicked action, or (to speak in the style of the " Jesuits) who are capable of directing their intention aright" (Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. 17. Sect. 2, p. 1. cited by Whitaker.) Thus it appears, that the Jesuits were the prototypes of Weishaup's diabolical sect of Illuminati.

sands.

sands. "The fourth council of Lateran," says Bp. Burnet, "decreed, that all hereticks should be de-
"livered to the secular power to be extirpated—If
"a man had but spoken a light word against any
"of the constitutions of the church, he was seized
"on by the bishop's officers: and, if any taught
"their children the Lord's prayer, the ten com-
"mandments, and the Apostles' creed, in the vulgar
"tongue *, that was criminal enough to bring them
"to the stake, as it did six men and a woman at
"Coventry in the Passion week 1519 †." Here it may be observed, that, while *the first* or *secular beast* is represented as making war with *the saints* and overcoming them, it is no where said that *the second* or *ecclesiastical beast* should do more than *cause* them to be killed. The above-cited decree of the council of Lateran shews how exact the prophecy has been in this particular. *The little horn* hath always worn out *the saints* by *causing* them to be killed, or by *delivering them over to the secular arm* ‡, not by *literally slaying them it-*

* In direct opposition to this abominable system of keeping the people in profound ignorance, the church of England specially charges all sponsors to provide, that the child, for whom they have been sureties, "may learn the Creed, the Lord's "Prayer, and the ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, "and all other things which a Christian ought to know and "believe to his soul's health." Office of Baptism.

† Hist. of Reformation cited by Whitaker. p. 419.

‡ On this occasion, the Inquisitors, with a disgusting affectation of lamb-like meekness, are wont to beseech the civil magistrates to shew mercy to those unfortunate victims whom they themselves have given up to be consigned to the flames.

self,

self. " Who can make any computation, or even " frame any conception, of the numbers of pious " Christians, who have fallen a sacrifice to the " bigotry and cruelty of Rome? Mede hath ob- " served from good authorities, that in the war " with the Waldenses and Albigenses there perished " of these poor creatures in France alone *a million.* " From the first institution of the Jesuits to *the* " *year* 1480, that is in little more than *thirty* " *years*, 900,000 orthodox Christians were slain. " In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva " boasted, that within *a few years* he had dis- " patched to the amount of 36,000 souls, and " those all by the hand of the common executioner. " In the space of scarce *thirty years*, the Inqui- " sition destroyed, by various kinds of tortures, " 150,000 Christians. Sanders himself confesses " that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and " Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Eu- " rope; who yet, he says, were not put to death " by *the Pope* and *Bishops*, but by *the civil magis-* " *trates:* which perfectly agrees with this pro- " phecy; for of *the secular beast* * it is said, that " he should make war with *the saints* and over- " come them †."

4. *He exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him.*

* It is not unworthy of notice that Bp. Newton here speaks of *the first beast* as being, what he really is, *the secular Roman empire*, as contradistinguished from *the second beast*, or *the Roman church.*

† Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

Cardinals,

Cardinals, Prelates, and Monks, were long the prime ministers of the European sovereigns: and the names of Wolsey, Ximenes, Richlieu, and Mazarine, are handed down to posterity as the most intriguing and ambitious of statesmen. *The second beast* indeed is properly "an ecclesiastical person, but he intermixeth himself much in "civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser, "and mover of *the first beast* *. He holdeth *im*-"*perium in imperio*, an *empire within an empire;* "claimeth a temporal authority, as well as a spiri-"tual; hath not only the principal direction of the "temporal powers, but often engaged them in his "service; and enforceth his canons and decrees "with the sword of the civil magistrate †."

5. *He causeth the earth and all that dwell therein to worship the first beast whose deadly wound was healed.*

The nature of this worship of *the secular beast* I have already considered. It will be sufficient therefore at present to observe, that, since it is impossible for Daniel's *fourth beast* or *the Roman empire* to be literally worshipped, the adoration here spoken of must mean a devotion to those principles by which the empire was equally

* Here again the Bishop speaks of *the first beast* as being *the secular empire.* Thus does his original opinion force itself, as it were, upon him, notwithstanding all that he had subsequently said respecting the identity of *the papal little horn* and *the first beast.*

† Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

made

made *a beast* both under its *pagan* and its *papal* emperors, both under its *sixth head* and its *last*. Those principles consisted in *the worship of images*, and in *the persecution of the saints:* and it was *the second beast*, who by his influence caused *the whole Roman earth* once more to adopt them under *Popery*, as it had heretofore adopted them under *Paganism;* it was *the second beast*, who made *an image* for *the first*, and caused all men to fall down and worship it *.

6. He

* The interpretation of the worship paid to *the first* or *secular beast*, proposed by Bp. Newton, is to my mind very unsatisfactory. "As *the first beast* concurs to maintain the authority "of *the second*, so he in return confirms and maintains the "sovereignty and dominion of *the first beast* over his subjects; "and causeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to wor-"ship *the first beast*, whose deadly wound was healed. He "supports tyranny, as he is by tyranny supported. He in-"slaves the consciences, as *the first beast* subjugates the bodies "of men" (Dissert. on Rev. xiii.). Hence it appears, that the Bishop conceives the worship, which was paid to *the secular beast* at the instigation of *the ecclesiastical beast*, to be merely *civil worship* so far increased as to become *passive obedience*. Now, bad as tyranny in the state may be, *the whole* criminality of it must be ascribed to *the governors;* not surely to *the governed*, to those who patiently submit themselves like the primitive Christians to every ordinance of man however tyrannical for the Lord's sake, lest by resisting they should receive damnation. Were nothing more then meant by *worshipping the beast* than *an unresisting submission to civil tyranny*, or (as Mr. Whiston, cited by the Bishop, styles it) "*a* "*blind obedience;*" the worshippers of *the beast* would never have been censured by the prophet for *yielding* such submission,

6. He doeth great wonders, in order that he may make fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men.

sion, however severely he might have animadverted upon *the two beasts* for *recommending* and *exacting it.* "If any man "worship the beast and his image,—the same shall drink of "the wine of the wrath of God, and he shall be tormented "with fire and brimstone;—and the smoke of their torment "ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day "nor night, who worship the beast and his image" (Rev. xiv. 9, 10, 11.). Can we suppose, that so severe a punishment as eternal damnation will be inflicted upon those who suffer *their bodies* to be subjugated by *the first beast?* It is plain, that *the worship of the beast* is connected with *the worship of his image;* and that this worship is something so offensive in the eyes of God as to incur the penalty of hell fire: can it then mean nothing more than *submitting to the sovereignty and dominion of the first beast?* It may be remarked, that Bp. Newton here again speaks of *the first beast* as being, not *the Papacy,* but *the secular Roman empire:* and it may further be remarked, that his present interpretation of *the worship paid to the beast* by no means accords with that which he had previously given, and which I believe to be the true one. "*All the world wondered after the* "*beast, and they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the* "*beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying; Who is like unto* "*the beast? Who is able to make war with him?* No kingdom "or empire was like that of *the beast,* it had not a parallel "upon earth, and it was in vain for any to resist or oppose it, "it prevailed and triumphed over all; and all the world, in "submitting thus to the religion of *the beast,* did in effect sub-"mit again to the religion of *the dragon,* it being the old ido-"latry with new names. *The worshipping of demons and idols* "is in effect *the worshipping of devils*" (Dissert. on Rev. xiii.). Here we see a plain reason why *the worship of the beast* is threatened with eternal damnation: it consists in embracing those principles, which constituted alike *the bestiality* of *the pagan* and *papal Roman empires;* not in paying *civil homage* to *the beast.*

"Miracles,

" Miracles, visions, and revelations, are the " mighty boast of the church of Rome, the con- " trivances of an artful cunning clergy to impose " upon an ignorant laity." These wonders *the beast* did, partly in order that he might make fire come down from *heaven* upon *earth;* and partly, as we shall hereafter see, with a view so to seduce mankind as to induce them to set up *an image* and worship it. *Heaven* is a symbol of *the Church; the earth*, of *the Roman empire;* and *fire, of divine wrath. The darting therefore of fire out of the Church upon the secular empire* seems to relate to those solemn denunciations of *the divine wrath*, which, under the name of *interdicts* and *excommunications*, were hurled against those who dared to oppose the authority of *the beast*. History furnishes many memorable examples of such ecclesiastical censures. The whole kingdom of England was laid under an interdict in the reign of king John: and numerous are the other European sovereigns, against whom *the Popes* have pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposition *. The submission of the people to this exorbitant stretch of power was

* Brightman has the following curious remark on this part of the prophecy. " Hildebrandus, in epistola ad Germanos, " Henricum quartum excommunicatione sua percussum, *affla-* " *tum fulmine* dixit: nec temerè, Spiritu procul dubio guber- " nante linguam, ut olim Caiaphæ, quo mundus intelligeret, " quî *bestia* faceret ignem de cœlo descendere." Apoc. Apoc. fol. 215.

founded

founded upon their implicit belief in the sanctity, authority, and infallibility, of *the Roman bishop* and *his hierarchy:* and this belief was kept up by pretended miracles, which (it was asserted) none but members of *the holy catholic church* could perform: hence it is said, that *the beast* did great wonders, in order that he might bring down fire from *heaven* upon *earth;* or, in other words, that none might dispute his right and power of excommunication. I know not any better comment upon this part of the prophecy than the use which was made of the miracles said to have been wrought at the shrine of Archbishop Becket. During the schism in *the church of Rome*, that turbulent prelate had espoused the cause of Pope Alexander against his competitor; and, after his death, he became a wonder-working saint. Such being the case, the litigated point was soon decided. "Whereas many," says John of Salisbury, doubted "whether Alexander was the true Pope or not, "the miracles of Becket decided that question in "his favour, *as they could not have been done by* "*one engaged in a schism**." Thus was Alexander confirmed by miracles in his full right and title to anathematize his rival and to hurl the thunderbolts of the church at all his opponents. Nor has this claim to supernatural gifts been made solely during the thick darkness of the middle ages; an anonymous Popish writer even of the last century,

* Whitaker's Comment. p. 391, 392.

cited by Mr. Whitaker, insists upon the miraculous powers of *the church of Rome* down to the then present time, and enumerates many miracles which he avers to have been performed since the era of the Reformation. At the conclusion of his catalogue of saints endowed with such powers, he observes, that "all the persons so conspicuous for "these supernatural gifts were *zealous members of* "*the catholick church**;" meaning doubtless to intimate, that, if *the catholic church* (so the Papists think proper to denominate *the church of Rome)* were not *the only true church*, its members would not have possessed those gifts. Here then we have another instance of the manner in which *the church of Rome* proved itself to be *the only true church* by lying wonders. When that point was once established; when the strong faith of a determined Papist once admitted the reality of those miracles; and when once he drew from them the desired conclusion, that, since none but members of *the true church* could perform them, *the church of Rome* whose members *did* perform them must doubtless be *the only true church:* the rest would follow of course: no salvation can be had out of *the true church;* therefore *the church of Rome* possesses an undoubted power to anathematize and excommunicate all heretics.

7. *He deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by means of those miracles which he had power to do*

* Whitaker's Comment. p. 395—399.

in

in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image for the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live. And he had power to give life unto the beast's image, in order that the beast's image should even speak, and in order that he might cause that as many as would not worship the beast's image should be killed.

Before the *import* of this passage can be determined, its *literal* meaning must be ascertained.

(1.) The expression *the image of the beast,* and the expression *the beast and his image* which elsewhere occurs, are both ambiguous; inasmuch as they may signify either *the image in the sense of* the *effigies of the beast,* or *the image which belongs to the beast.* Thus *the image of Cesar* upon the Roman coin means doubtless *the effigies of Cesar**; whereas *the image of Micah* certainly means *the image which belonged to Micah,* the image which he had made for himself to be his god †. Had no other expressions then occurred in the Apocalypse except *the image of the beast* and *the beast and his image,* we should have been unable positively to determine what precise idea we ought to annex to this *image;* but all ambiguity seems to be removed by the manner in which the Apostle introduces his account of it. It is said, *the second beast* so deceived the inhabitants of the earth by his false miracles, that he induced them to make an

* Matt. xxii. 19, 20, 21. † Judges xviii. 31.

image

image *to* or *for* the first beast. Now it is surely putting a very great force upon language to suppose that *the making an image* for *the beast* can signify *the making a representation* of *him*. The prohibition in the decalogue relative to idolatry is couched in the following terms: "Thou shalt not "make *unto thee* any graven image *." Here it is manifest, that *the making an image to a person's self* means *the making an image for his own use and worship:* it is only natural therefore to suppose, that *the making an image to the beast* means *the making an image for the use and worship of the beast;* and consequently that *the image of the beast* imports, not the *effigies of the beast*, but *the image which the beast adored*†.

(2.) That such is the proper interpretation of the expression will yet further appear, if we consider the context of the whole passage. It was by false miracles that the *ecclesiastical beast* induced the inhabitants of the earth to set up this image for *the secular beast*. Accordingly, as we are informed by Bp. Newton, "miracles are thought so "necessary and essential, that they are reckoned "among the notes of the catholic church; and "they are alleged principally in support of pur-"gatory, prayers for the dead, *the worship of*

* Exod. xx. 4.

† Hence, to avoid all ambiguity and to give what I believe to be the true sense of the original, I have translated εικων τω θηριω *the beast's image* instead of *the image of the beast*.

"*saints*,

" *saints, images, and relics*, and the like (as they " are called) catholic doctrines *.

The difficulty consists, not so much in proving this point, as in selecting some out of the many proofs which offer themselves to our attention. " The first introduction," says Mr. Gibbon, " of " a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the " cross and of relics. The saints and martyrs, " whose intercession was implored, were seated " on the right hand of God; but the gracious, " *and often supernatural favours*, which, in the " popular belief, were showered around their tomb, " *conveyed an unquestionable sanction* of the de- " vout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and " kissed, these lifeless remains, the memorials of " their merits and sufferings—*The scruples of rea-* " *son or piety were silenced by the strong evidence* " *of visions and miracles; and the pictures, which* " *speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with* " *a divine energy, and may be considered as the* " *proper objects of religious adoration*—Before the " end of *the sixth century*, images, *made without* " *hands* (in Greek it is a single word), were propa- " gated in the camps and cities of the eastern em- " pire: they were *the objects of worship*, and *the in-* " *struments of miracles;* and, in the hour of danger " or tumult, their venerable presence could revive " the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the

* Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

" fur-

" fury of the Roman legions *."—One of the grand idols of the Romanists, as it is well known, is *the Virgin Mary.* " They beg of her," says Juerieu, " in express terms whatever is desired from God; " heaven, pardon of sin, grace, repentance, vic- " tory of the devil. It is not enough to pray to " the virgin, you must adore her: every knee must " bow to her, adoring her as sovereign queen of

* History of Decline and Fall. vol. ix. p. 114—120. Mr. Gibbon observes, that before the end of *the sixth century* images were in very general use. This may be thought to contradict what I have said relative to the proper date of *the great Apostasy.* I then however observed, and I may here observe again, that superstition had for some time been gradually creeping into the Church previous to *the years* 606 and 607; but it is necessary to compute a prophetic series of years from a fixed and determinate era when some overt act has been committed. This overt act is declared by the prophet to be *the establishment of the Pope's supremacy*, or *the delivering up of the saints into his hand.* Now it is observable, that, whatever approaches there might be to image-worship in the course of *the sixth century*, idolatry was not *openly established by the authority of the Roman Pontiff* till the year 607; the very year after that in which *the saints* had been delivered into the hand of *the little horn*, and consequently from which *the* 1260 *years* are to be reckoned. Accordingly Mr. Gibbon very truly observes respecting the period of which he is speaking, " as *the worship of images had never* " *been established by any general or positive law*, its progress in " the Eastern Empire had been retarded or accelerated, by the " differences of men and manners, the local degrees of re- " finement, and the personal characters of the bishops" (Ibid. p. 122.). But I have already said amply sufficient respecting the difference between *individual apostasy*, and *authorized apostasy.* The one commenced many years before the other.

" men

" men and angels. And this adoration is not to
" be mere external adoration, but internal—On
" account of her holiness, men owe *dulia* to her;
" on account of her maternal relation, they owe
" her *hyperdulia*; and, because she touched our
" Saviour, the adoration of *latria* is due to her.
" Those, who well perform these services, though
" never so negligent of their duty towards God,
" though villains, robbers, debauchees; they can-
" not be damned, because they have been clients
" of the Virgin. This they prove by innumerable
" examples of those, whom the Virgin hath by
" *strange miracles* brought back, as it were, from
" the gates of hell, because they had been her
" votaries. And, *as an evidence how pleasing this*
" *adoration is to the Virgin, she hath wrought*
" *more miracles within these last seven or eight*
" *hundred years, than God hath wrought since the*
" *creation by Moses and the prophets, by Jesus*
" *Christ and his apostles, and by all the saints*
" *together. Her images have spoken, they have*
" *sung, they have resisted the fire and the ham-*
" *mer, they have soared in the air like birds, they*
" *have sweat blood, and oil and milk have run*
" *from them. Some of them have been turned into*
" *flesh; they have wept, lamented, groaned; they*
" *have made the lame to walk, the blind to see, the*
" *deaf to hear. They have cured all kinds of dis-*
" *eases, and wrought all sorts of prodigies. For*
" *these reasons, people will go to the end of the*
" *world to visit these consecrated images.* They

" kiss

" kiss *, fall down before them, and render them " an external worship, accompanied with a most " fervent internal devotion. They rub their chap- " lets or beads, and their handkerchiefs, upon " these images; and wear about them these chap- " lets and cloths, which have touched the images " of the Virgin; and believe, that they are relics " which have a virtue to preserve from all evils. " That which we have discoursed concerning the " Virgin, may be applied to saints proportionably.

* " Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees " which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which " hath not *kissed* him" (1 Kings xix. 18.). " And now they " sin more and more, and have made them molten images of " their silver, and idols according to their own understanding, " all of it the work of the craftsmen: they say of them, let " the men that sacrifice *kiss* the calves:" that is the statues of Moloch and Baal (Hos. xiii. 2.). The excuse, which Papists are wont to make for their idolatry, effectually proves them to *be* idolaters. They deny that they *worship the images;* asserting, that they only *kiss* them, and *bow down* before them, in token (as the council of Trent expresses it) of their " *wor-* " *shipping the saints,* whose likeness images do bear." What is this but explicitly acknowledging, that they *worship dead men* through the medium of certain fanciful representations of them? So perfectly does the idolatry of *the revived papal beast* resemble the idolatry of *the old pagan beast* that was wounded to death by the sword of the Spirit, that the ancient heathens gave precisely the same reason for *worshipping their images,* that the modern Papists do for *worshipping theirs.* Their language was, as we learn from Arnobius, " Not that brass, " gold, silver, and the like materials of statues are gods; " but that through them the invisible gods are honoured and " worshipped."

" There

" There is no folly or extravagance that we have
" now related, but every order of monks say such
" like of their founder and author: the Cordeliers
" and Capuchins, of their St. Francis; the Jaco-
" bins, of their St. Dominic; and, in general of
" all the pretended saints of their orders, they are
" more holy than seraphim; *they raise the dead;*
" *they heal all diseases; the whole creation is sub-*
" *ject to them**."—Another of the Popish idols is *the consecrated wafer* or *sacramental bread*, the worship of which naturally followed the monstrous doctrine of *transubstantiation*. This likewise hath been honoured by *its own proper miracles*. A saint, named *Malachy*, was employed by *the Pope* to convert the Irish to the discipline and canons of *the church of Rome;* and, in order to further this laudable undertaking, he received, say the Papists, *the power of working miracles in as eminent a degree as any of the ancient saints of the church*. One of these miracles was the punishment by sudden death of a man, whom the saint could not convince of *the real presence in the sacrament*†. A yet more stupendous proof of the truth of this doctrine was vouchsafed to the foundress of the reformation of the discalced Carmelites in *the sixteenth century*. In one of her works, called *The way of perfection*, " she
" declares that our Lord was, many times, pleased

* Cited by Whitaker, p. 341.
† Whitaker's Comment. p. 393.

" to

" to let her see him in the sacred host. In par-
" ticular, going one day to receive the blessed sa-
" crament, she saw him in great majesty, in the
" hands of the priest, in the host which he was
" going to administer to her. At the same time
" she understood by a vision, that this same priest
" was in a state of sin, which troubled her ex-
" ceedingly. But, says she, our Lord himself
" said unto me, that I should pray for him; and
" told me, that he had suffered what I had seen,
" that I might understand what power and force
" the words of consecration have; and that God
" would not be kept from thence, how wicked
" soever the priest were who pronounced them *."
For these enormous lies this woman was sainted.
—In fine, the worship of images which began very early to infect the church, and which was first openly established by *Boniface the fourth* in *the year* 607, was ultimately confirmed by the second council of Nice, in *the year* 787. The decrees of this council, which is justly called by Mr. Mede *the idolatrous council*, contain some curious narratives, full of fabulous invention, adapted to the promotion of image-worship, the purpose for which this misnamed *theopneust assembly* met together †.

(3.) As for the manner in which they that dwelt upon the earth were induced by *the two-horned*

* Whitaker's Comment. p. 239.
† Zouch on the Prophecies. p. 215, 216.

beast

beast to espouse the cause of image-worship, it has already been shewn in part by the preceding account of Popish miracles wrought for that express purpose; and it will yet further appear from the famous contest between *Gregory the second* and *the Emperor Leo*, respecting the worship of bodily representations of our Lord, his saints, and martyrs.

The Emperor had suppressed idolatry at Constantinople and in the East, and attempted to do the same in his Italian dominions. Upon this, *Gregory* informs him, that he exceeds his proper commission by interfering in spiritual matters; and teaches him, that although the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate, the more formidable weapon of excommunication is intrusted to the clergy, who will not spare a heretic even though he be seated upon a throne.—"You accuse "the catholics of idolatry," says he in one of his epistles to *Leo*, "and by the accusation you be- "tray your own impiety and ignorance." He then proceeds to point out to the undiscerning *Emperor* the distinction between *pagan idols* and *Christian images*. "The former were the "fanciful representations of phantoms or demons, "at a time when the true God had not mani- "fested his person in any visible likeness. The "latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mo- "ther, and his saints; *who had approved, by a "crowd of miracles, the innocence and merit of "this relative worship.*" The difference indeed between *idols* and *images*, hard as it is to be comprehended

prehended by the less subtle intellect of a heretic, is according to *Gregory* so clear, that the very children would be provoked to cast their horn-books at the head of the imperial enemy of so catholic a mode of adoration. " You assault us, O " tyrant, with a carnal and military hand—You " declare, with foolish arrogance, I will dispatch " my orders to Rome; I will break in pieces the " image of St. Peter—Are you ignorant, that *the* " *Popes* are the bond of union, the mediators of " peace, between the East and the West? The " eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility: " and they revere, as a god upon earth, the Apos- " tle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to de- " stroy. The remote and interior kingdoms of " the West present their homage to Christ and his " vicegerent; and we now prepare to visit one " of their most powerful monarchs, who desires to " receive from our hands the sacrament of bap- " tism. The barbarians have submitted to the " yoke of the Gospel, while you alone are deaf " to the voice of the shepherd. These pious bar- " barians are kindled into rage: they thirst to " avenge the persecution of the East. Abandon " your rash and fatal enterprize: reflect, tremble, " and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of " the blood that will be spilt in the contest: may " it fall on your own head."

The truth of this declaration *the Emperor* soon experienced to his cost. " The first assault of " *Leo* against the images of Constantinople had " been

" been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from " Italy and the West, who related with grief and " indignation the sacrilege of *the Emperor*. But, " on the reception of his proscriptive edict, they " trembled for their domestic deities. The images " of Christ and the Virgin, of the angels, martyrs, " and saints, were abolished in all the churches of " Italy; and a strong alternative was proposed to " *the Roman Pontiff*, the royal favour as the price " of his compliance, degradation and exile as the " penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor " policy allowed him to hesitate. Without de- " pending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed " against the public enemy; and his pastoral let- " ters admonished the Italians of their danger and " their duty. At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, " and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, " adhered to the cause of religion; their mili- " tary force by sea and land consisted, for the most " part, of the natives; and the spirit of patriotism " and zeal was transfused into the mercenary " strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in " the defence of *the Pope* and *the holy images;* " the Roman people were devoted to their father; " and even the Lombards were ambitious to share " the merit and advantage of this holy war."

The issue of the struggle was the ruin of *the Emperor's* affairs in Italy, and the complete triumph of the catholic idolaters. Nor was *a miracle* wanting, in this grand contest, *to decide the orthodoxy of image-worship.* To restore his dominion in Italy,

Leo

Leo invaded the Exarchate, and prepared to lay siege to Ravenna. Upon this occasion, "the women and clergy, in sackcloth and ashes, lay prostrate in prayer; the men were in arms for the defence of their country; and the event of a battle was preferred to the slow miseries of a siege. In a hard fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and advanced, *a phantom was seen, a voice was heard*, and Ravenna was victorious by the assurance of victory. The strangers retreated to their ships, but the populous sea-coast poured forth a multitude of boats; the waters of the Po were so deeply infected with blood, that during six years the public prejudice abstained from the fish of the river; and the institution of an annual feast perpetuated the worship of images, and the abhorrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidst the triumph of the catholic arms, *the Roman Pontiff* convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts; and with their consent pronounced a general excommunication against all, who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints*."

(4.) It is further said, that *the second beast* had power to give life to *the image*, in order that *the image* should even speak, and in order that he might thus be able to cause the death of those who refused to worship it.

* Hist. of Decline and Fall. vol. ix. p. 112—141.

We

We have already noticed some marvellous instances of the speaking and moving statues of *the Virgin;* and I doubt not but that they *did* appear to the deluded populace both to speak and to move. The prophecy teaches us, that it was *the ecclesiastical beast* that enabled them to perform these functions of rational and animal life; and the event has abundantly proved the truth of the prediction. The ridiculous puppets, which were held forth as gods to the blind adoration of *the secular beast*, were so contrived with internal springs as to be easily worked by a concealed operator; whose voice at proper intervals seemed to issue from the mouth of the miraculous image. At the Reformation, nothing tended so much to wean the people from their attachment to idolatrous superstition as the public exposure of these contemptible tricks of the Popish ecclesiastics. "For their images," says Bp. Burnet, "some of them were brought to "London, and were there at St. Paul's cross, in "the sight of the people, broken; that they might "be fully convinced of the juggling impostures of "the monks; and, in particular, the crucifix of "Boxley in Kent, commonly called *the Rood of* "*grace;* to which many pilgrimages had been "made, because it was observed sometimes to "bow, and to lift itself up, to shake, and to stir "head, hands, and feet, and to roll the eyes, "move the lips, and to bend the brows: all which "were looked on by the abused multitude as the "effects

" effects of a divine power *. These were now " publicly discovered to have been cheats: for " the springs were shewed, by which all these mo- " tions were made. Upon which John Hilsey, " then Bishop of Rochester, made a sermon, and " broke the rood in pieces. There was also " another famous imposture discovered at Hales " in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Christ " was shewed in a vial of crystal, which the people " sometimes saw, but sometimes they could not " see it: so that they were made believe, that they " were not capable of so signal a favour, as long " as they were in mortal sin; and so continued " to make presents, till they had bribed heaven to " give them a sight of so blessed a relic. This " was now discovered to be the blood of a duck, " which they renewed every week: and the one " side of the vial was so thick, that there was no " seeing through it; but the other was clear and " transparent: and it was so placed near the altar, " that one in a secret place behind could turn " either side of it outward. So that, when they " had drained the pilgrims that came thither of all

* Similar vile mummeries have actually been exhibited even in the present generation, when one might have thought that well-deserved ridicule, if not religious principle, would have effectually put an end to them. In *the year* 1796, various miraculous appearances are asserted to have been observed at Rome: pictures of madonnas opened and shut their eyes; images of saints altered their position; and crucifixes moved their eyelids! Zouch on Prophecy. p. 180.

" they

" they had brought with them, then they afforded " them the favour of turning the clear side out- " ward; who, upon that, went home very well sa- " tisfied with their journey, and the expence they " had been at*."

To these idols, thus impiously set up to be the gods of the Christian church, it may probably be said with truth, that no fewer human victims have been immolated than to the demons of Paganism. One special mark of heresy was *a refusal to worship images;* and that refusal, like the similar refusal of the primitive Christians to adore the idols of the Gentiles, never failed to subject the martyrs under *Popery*, those second men of understanding mentioned by Daniel †, to the horrors of the most dreadful of deaths ‡. While every impurity and abomination, both in practice and doctrine, was tolerated and sanctioned by *the adulterous church of Rome;* those holy and godly men, whose sole crime was a determined rejection of the poisoned cup of *the mystic harlot*, were inhumanly persecuted and tormented. " Blessed however " are the dead which die in the Lord, for they

* Hist. of Reform. vol. i. p. 243. cited by Whitaker and Zouch.

† Dan. xi. 35.

‡ See Bp. Newton's account of *the witnesses.* One of the crimes, for which those convicted of heresy were condemned, is almost invariably a refusal to pray to dead saints, angels, and their images.

" rest from their labours, and their works do fol-
" low them."

(5.) In this interpretation of *the image* I have followed Dr. Zouch, infinitely preferring it to that proposed by Bp. Newton.

His Lordship, from an idea that *this image* was to be *some power* which should be *a sort of representation or effigy of the wounded imperial head of the secular beast*, endeavours to prove that it is *the Pope;* who, says he, " is the most " perfect likeness and resemblance of the ancient " Roman Emperors." Now, whatever degree of similarity there may be between *the Emperors* and *the Popes*, I can find no warrant in the plain letter of the text for such an exposition of the prophecy relative to *the image*. As I have already observed, the making an image *to* or *for* that beast whose head was wounded with the sword (a periphrastic mode of pointing out *the secular beast*, in order that we may certainly know *what beast* is here intended by the Apostle) can scarcely mean the setting up a representation *of* the beast. And, that such is *not* the meaning of the passage, will, I think, undeniably appear, if we consider the strange confusion which this interpretation if admitted must necessarily introduce. Bp. Newton supposes, that *the last head of the secular beast* is *the Pope*, and that *the two-horned beast* is *the Romish hierarchy*. If then *the two-horned beast* be *the Romish hierarchy*, *the head of that beast* must undoubtedly

doubtedly be *the Pope;* for *the Romish hierarchy* has no other head except *the Pope.* In this case therefore, *the head of the first beast,* and *the head of the second beast,* will both equally be *the Pope:* and yet, according to the Bishop's scheme, *the image* is *the Pope* likewise: consequently *the image of the beast* is at once the same as *the head of the ecclesiastical beast,* and as *the secular beast under its last head,* for St. John identifies *the last head* with *the whole secular beast.* His Lordship himself indeed does not make this assertion *totidem verbis,* though he assuredly makes it *in fact;* but Mr. Mede, whose scheme is the same, *expressly* and *unreservedly* maintains the identity of *the image* and of *the secular beast under his last head* *.

To confute this opinion, it seems to me to be only necessary, that any unprejudiced person should attentively read those passages of the Apocalypse, in which *the two beasts,* and *the image of the first beast* are mentioned together; for such a person must, I apprehend, be convinced, that, *whatever* they may be designed to symbolize, *the heads of the two beasts* and *the image* cannot *all* symbolize *the same thing.* The expression *the beast and his image,* which perpetually occurs in the Apocalypse †, obviously implies, that *the beast*

* "Bestia Romana capitis novissimi est imago bestiæ sexto "capite mactatæ." Comment Apoc. in best. bicorn.

† See Rev. xiv. 9. 11. xvi. 2. xix. 20.

is *one thing*, and that *the image* is *another*. To suppose otherwise makes the prophet use a most singular kind of tautology: for, if *the first beast* and *his image* be *the same*, both equally symbolizing *the Pope*, then the expression *the beast and his image* is precisely equivalent to *the Pope and the Pope*. So again: *the two beasts* and *the image* are all described at large in one chapter; and *the second beast* is plainly distinguished from *the first*, both by the general tenor of the description, and by its being styled *another beast*: can we then reasonably suppose, that *these two different beasts* have *a head in common*, and that *that head* is the very same as *a certain image* which *the second beast* causes to be made for *the first beast?* Nay more: *the first beast*, *his image*, and *the second beast* under the name of *the false prophet*, are all mentioned together in a single verse. "And *the beast* "was taken, and with him *the false prophet* that "wrought miracles before him, with which he "deceived them that had received the mark of "the beast and them that worshipped *his image*. "These both were cast alive in a lake of fire "burning with brimstone*." Can any one from this passage reasonably infer, that *the beast under his last head* is the same as *his image*, and that *both* are the same as *the head of the second beast* or *the false prophet?* It is worthy of notice, that, although St. John here makes joint mention of

* Rev. xix. 20.

the

the two beasts and *the image*, he only states, that *these both* (in the original it is *these two)* were cast into the lake of fire. Hence we may infer, both that *the image* was *not* cast into the fiery lake; and that *the two beasts* are really *two distinct beasts*, not *two* (as the scheme of Bp. Newton necessarily supposes) *subsisting under a common head.* Let us then only adopt the mode of interpretation which I have been endeavouring to establish, and we shall immediately perceive the exact propriety of the language here used by the prophet. *The secular beast* under his *last* or *patricio-imperial head* (whatever family may be the representative of *this head* at that time), the great supporter of the abominations of *Popery* and the cruel persecutor of *the saints;* and *the ecclesiastical beast* under *his spiritual head the Pope,* the deceiver of the whole earth and the diabolical promoter of *the first beast's* persecutions: *these two* main enemies of the Messiah are taken in open rebellion against his authority, and cast into the lake of fire. But *the image,* which was a mere senseless tool of monastic imposture, and therefore incapable of punishment, is neither said to be engaged in this rebellion, nor to incur the divine vengeance, like its contrivers and worshippers *.

(6.) There

* Mr. Whitaker's sentiments respecting *the image of the beast* are nearly the same as those of Mr. Mede and Bp. Newton. He supposes *the image* to mean *the Papal authority and empire actual*

(6.) There have been other opinions respecting *the image* besides this of Bp. Newton.

Some have supposed it to be *the Carlovingian empire*, the express image of *the old Roman empire*. But *the Carlovingian empire* is *the Roman empire* under *its last head*, and therefore cannot be *the image*, which is represented as something quite distinct from *the beast*. Moreover *the making an image* to *or* for *the beast* cannot mean *the making a representation* of *him*.

Others again have fancied, that *the image* is *the inquisition*. This opinion however is as little tenable as the former. *The inquisition* is neither *a graven image*, if the passage be interpreted in this sense, as I think it must; nor will it be an easy matter to discover any resemblance between that *iniquitous court* and *the Roman Cesars*, if the passage be interpreted in the manner proposed by Bp. Newton *.

actually established over the world by the instrumentality of *the monastic orders*. Every objection, that has been made to the scheme of Mr. Mede and the Bishop, applies with equal force to that of Mr. Whitaker.

Sir Isaac Newton thinks that *the making an image to the beast* means only *the assembling a body of men, or the calling a council of men, like the beast in point of religion*. This opinion seems to me to accord very ill with the simple language of St. John. I cannot but think indeed, that the whole of Sir Isaac's explanation of this prophecy is radically erroneous. His idea, that *the second apocalyptic beast* is *the Greek church* entirely violates the order and regularity of the prediction: for *the little book* treats wholly of the affairs of the West. See Observ. on the Apocalypse. Chap. iii. and Addenda to Observ.

* See Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

In

In short, every exposition of the prophecy relative to *the image*, excepting that which I have here adopted from Dr. Zouch, appears to me to be clogged with far too many difficulties to be admissible.

8. *He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the (secular) beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is* 666.

We have found, that, in every particular hitherto considered, the character of *the second apocalyptic* beast perfectly accords with that of *the catholic church of Rome*, the *spiritual empire regular and secular*, of which *the Pope* is *the head*. Two points yet remain to be investigated: I mean *the peculiar name*, and *the peculiar mark*, of *the first beast*; which *the second beast* required the whole Roman world to bear, as a badge of ecclesiastical communion.

(1.) In order that this enquiry may be satisfactorily prosecuted, the sound rule, which I have hitherto endeavoured to observe, must in the present case also be steadily attended to. *No name*, though it may possibly comprehend *the number* 666, can be *the name of the beast*, unless it equally answers in all other particulars, to the prophetic description of that name.

From

From the description itself we learn, that *four things* must concur in *the mysterious name* of which we are in quest: 1. it must be the name of *the Empire* symbolized by *the ten-horned beast;* 2. it must be the name of *some individual man* *; 3. it must be a name, borne, along with *some superstitious badge* or *mark,* by every member of *the beast,* as a test of spiritual communion with his colleague *the second beast,* and under pain of a severe ecclesiastical interdict; 4. and it must be a name, which comprehends in its numerical letters *the precise sum of* 666.

Various names have been pitched upon as *this name of the beast;* but, before we adopt any of them, we must inquire whether they will accurately correspond with St. John's description of it. Two of the papal titles, *Vicarius Filii Dei,* and *Vicarius Dei generalis in terris,* have each been found to comprehend *the number* 666; but yet neither of them can be *the name* intended by the Apostle; because neither of them is *the name of the temporal beast,* neither of them is *the*

* Bp. Newton supposes *the number of a man* to mean nothing more than *a method of numbering practised among men.* I prefer the interpretation here adopted, both as being the most obvious meaning of the expression, and as suiting better to the designed obscurity of the enigma. Since *the number of the beast* is *the number of the name of the beast,* it seems most natural to conclude, that *the number of a man* is *the number of the name of a man:* and, since *these two numbers* are *the same,* the *two names* which contain them, *that of the beast* and *that of the man,* must be *the same likewise.*

proper

proper name of a man, and neither of them can obviously be borne by *each individual Papist*. The Hebrew word *Romiith*, or *the Roman beast*, has likewise been found to contain *the same number* 666 *: but yet this can as little be *the apocalyptic name of the beast* as either of the others; for, although every Papist delights to term himself *a Roman-catholic*, yet *Romiith* is certainly not the name of any *man* †.

I con-

* ר 200
ו 6
מ 40
י 10
י 10
ת 400

666

† 1. Mr. Lowman supposes, that *the number 666* is the number of years to be computed from the time when St. John saw this vision to the complete establishment of *the Papacy* as a *temporal power* about *the year 756*, at which time he conceives it to have become *the beast of the sea under his last head*.

Respecting this opinion it will be sufficient to observe, that, even if *the Papacy* were *the beast of the sea*, which to me seems utterly impossible, it would still be altogether irreconcileable with the plain language of the prophecy. None were either to buy or sell, but those that bore *the name of the beast*, and together with it *the number of his name*; a number moreover that is *the number of a man*. How is all this fulfilled, if 666 be merely *a term of years*? How can *a term of years* be *the number of the beast's name*? How can it be shewn, that none were allowed to buy or sell except those that bore *this term of years* as included in *the name of the beast*?

2. There

I conceive then, that the Apostle designed to intimate in this confessedly difficult passage, that we should seek out *some name;* which should at

2. There is a most curious treatise by Mr. Potter on *the number* 666; in which he goes on the principle of extracting the square root, and of applying it when so extracted to a wonderful variety of matters connected with *Popery.* He supposes indeed *the ten-horned beast* to be *the Papacy;* but his system, if it be tenable, will apply with nearly equal force to *the secular papal Roman empire.*

I can promise the reader entertainment of a very singular nature from this work; though, like myself, he may possibly rise from the perusal of it unconvinced. It is one of the most ingenious productions that I ever met with; but it strikes me nevertheless as being too elaborate and far-fetched, independent of various objections that might be urged against it. I think it right to mention, that Mr. Potter will not allow *the number* to be *the number of a name,* and that he thence denies the propriety of discovering it by numerical letters in the name *Latinus* or in other similar names. In this point he is certainly mistaken; for St. John most unequivocally declares, that *the number of the beast* is " the number of his name" (Ver. 17.). Mr. Mede bestows a very high and a very well deserved encomium on this work of Mr. Potter.

3. The modes, in which the Romanists have computed this number, are sufficiently whimsical. Feuardentius discovers it in the word *Moametis,* for so he thinks proper to spell the name of *Mohammed.* He likewise finds it in *Martin Lauter,* which he says was the original way of spelling Luther's name (Lowman's Paraph. in loc.). This last idea is considerably enlarged by Lindanus and Bellarmine. *Martin Lauter* produces the number in Saxon; *David Chitræus* and *Beza antitheus,* in Greek; and *John Calvin,* in Hebrew (Cornel. a Lap. Comment. in Apoc. in loc.). They refrain however very judiciously from specifying *the seven heads and ten horns* either of Mohammed, Luther, Chitræus, Beza, or Calvin.

once

once be *the name of an empire, the name of its supposed founder*, and *the name of every individual in that empire.* This identity of appellation is very frequently found to occur, particularly in the early ages of the world: thus *Ashur* is equally the name of *Assyria*, of *the father of the Assyrians*, and of *every individual Assyrian;* thus also *Mizr* is equally the name of *Egypt*, of *the father of the Egyptians*, and of *every individual Egyptian;* and thus, to descend to modern times, *Ottoman* or *Othman* is equally the name of *the Turkish empire*, of *its founder*, and of *every individual Turk.* Now, had the Prophet said nothing *more* than this respecting *the name of the beast*, we might for ever have wearied ourselves with endeavouring to discover it; because numerous indeed are the names, which, like *Ashur*, *Mizr*, and *Ottoman*, bear triple significations: hence he informs us, that *the name*, to which he alludes, should not only bear *this triple signification*, but should likewise contain in its numerical letters *the precise sum of* 666.

Irenèus, the disciple of Polycarp, who lived not very long after St. John himself, has been much more happy in pitching upon *the name of the beast* than in assigning the proper reasons *why* that *particular appellative* ought to be pitched upon in preference to all others. "The name *Lateinos*," says he, "contains *the number* 666; and it is very "likely that this may be *the name*, because the "last kingdom is so called, for they are *Latins*

"who

" who now reign; but in this we will not glory *." Bp. Newton has adopted the opinion of Irenèus, which I believe to be perfectly just; yet, what is something remarkable, neither has *he* assigned the *real* cause *why Latinus*, or, according to its ancient orthography both Latin and Greek, *Lateinos*, is *the very name of the beast* intended by the Apostle. I shall endeavour therefore, agreeably to the deductions made from the apocalyptic description of it, to point out why *Latinus*, and *Latinus* alone, is *the name* of which we are in quest.

The ten-horned beast whose *name* is declared to contain *the number* 666, is certainly *the temporal Roman empire.* Of this *Empire* the *second* founder indeed was *Romulus;* but its *first* real or fictitious founder was *Latinus*, the ancient king of Latium. *Latinus* therefore is the name of *a man.* It is likewise the peculiar name of *the Western* or *divided Roman empire*, and the distinguishing appellation of *every individual in that empire.* Here it is observable, that the gentile name of *Latinus* or *a Latin* was, in the victorious days of the republic and empire, almost lost in the more favourite gentile name of *Romanus* or *a Roman.* Preserved however it carefully was †, though not so frequently

* Iren. lib. 5. cap. 30. p. 449. cited by Bp. Newton.

† ———— Latio: genus unde *Latinum*,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.
— — — — — —
Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente *Latinos*
In tantum spe tollet avos———— VIRGIL.

used

used as the other; insomuch that, although the people were styled *Romans*, their language was denominated *Latin*. But, when by the arms of the northern nations *the Roman empire* was divided into *ten kingdoms;* when, by setting up *a spiritual tyranny* in the Church, and by lapsing into papal idolatry, it again became *a beast;* when *Rome* was governed by her bishops under the wing of a new line of Emperors; and when Greece, formerly her instructor in the arts and sciences, was now become her rival both in imperial and ecclesiastical domination: the old gentile name of *Latin* was revived, and has ever since been the peculiar distinguishing title of *the papal Roman empire* both *temporal* and *spiritual*. Such, accordingly, is the general appellation which the inhabitants of the West bear in the Eastern parts of the world: the particular names of *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Italians*, are swallowed up in the common title of *Latins*. Hence Mr. Gibbon, in his account of the crusades, terms, with strict propriety, the people of the western empire *Latins:* and gives us, under this name, the history of the five *Latin* Emperors of Constantinople*. Hence also, though the Papists are wont absurdly to style themselves *Roman catholics*, the *real* name of their community, as contradistinguished from *the Greek church*, *the Armenian church*, or *the Abyssinian church*, is certainly *the Latin church*. Thus Thevenot, in his account of mount Sinai,

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, vol. xi. p. 243—304.

speaks

speaks of two churches, one for *the Greeks*, and the other for *the Latins:* and thus Ricaut, throughout *his state of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, discriminates *the Romanists* from *all other professors of Christianity* by the appellation of *Latins* *. The Papists, as Dr. Henry More aptly expresses it, " *latinize* in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, " litanies, canons, decretals, bulls, are conceived " in *Latin*. The papal councils speak in *Latin*. " Women themselves pray in *Latin*. Nor is the " Scripture read in any other language, under Po- " pery, than *Latin*. Wherefore the council of " Trent commanded *the vulgar Latin* to be the " only authentic version: nor do their doctors " doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek " text itself, which was written by the prophets " and apostles. In short, all things are *Latin;* " the Pope having communicated his language to " the people under his dominion, as the mark and " character of his empire †."

Here

* Cited by Mr. Granville Sharpe in *his appendix to three tracts*, p. 126. I am indebted to this gentleman for the idea, that *Latinus* is the name of *that particular man* whose appellative contains *the same number* as *the name of the beast*.

† Mystery of Iniquity. Part 2. B. 1. Chap. 15. and Molinæi Vates. p. 500. cited by Bp. Newton. " Hoc nomine *(Latinus)*, " post imperii divisionem et decem reges in provinciis ejus ex- " ortos, neque prius, pseudo-propheta Romanus, cum reliquis " Occidentis incolis, discriminis ergô appellatus est. Namque " Græci et reliqui Orientales seipsos solos *Romanos* dici vo- " luere; nos, cum pontifice nostro, et sub eo episcopis, regi- " bus,

Here then we have a name, which completely answers in every respect to *the apocalyptic name of the beast*. *Lateinos* is at once *the name of a man, the title of an empire,* and *the distinguishing appellation of every individual in that empire:* and, when the sum of its numerical letters is taken in the Greek language, the language in which the Apocalypse is written, and in which therefore the calculation ought apparently to be made *, it will amount precisely to 666 †. On these grounds then we have abundant reason to conclude that *Latinus,* and *nothing but Latinus,* is *the name of the beast;* for, in no other word, descriptive of *the revived*

" bus, dynastis, fatali quodam instinctu *Latinos* dixere. Et " hæc distinctio *Græcæ Latinæque* ecclesiæ adeo insignis erat, " ut in generalibus conciliis Occidentales patres sive episcopi " *Latini*, reliqui vero *Græci* discriminatim appellarentur." Pol. Synop. in loc.

* I cannot but wonder, that any should have thought of seeking *the name of the beast* in a different language from *the Greek*. It is scarcely probable that St. John should *write* in one language, and mean *the calculation* to be made in another.

† A 30
A 1
T 300
E 5
I 10
N 50
O 70
Σ 200

666

temporal

temporal beast or *the Papal Roman empire*, can such a fatal concurrence of circumstances be discovered.*.

(2.) With regard to *the mark of the beast*,' I think with Sir Isaac Newton that it is *the cross*. This symbol has been abused by *the Papists* to the purposes both of *the most infernal cruelties*, and of *the most childish superstition* †.

The

* Mr. Wrangham very ingeniously supposes, that *the name of the beast* is αποστάλης, which he finds exactly to contain the number 666 (Appendix to Assize sermon. p. 7.). The objection to this word is, that, although it describes very exactly *the nature* of *the beast* and *the nature* of any *individual apostate*, it can scarcely be considered as *the name* either of *the beast* or of *any man*. Yet it may be said in its favour, that, since *blasphemy* means *apostasy* and since *the beast* is represented as having upon his heads *the name* of blasphemy, αποστάλης, which is certainly *that* name, may be the intended *name of the beast*.

† When our dissenting brethren censure us for using *the sign of the cross* in the baptismal ceremony, because it is used likewise by the papists, they ought to consider, that the use of it is either innocent or not innocent, exactly according as it is religious or not religious. It was only by a vain and cruel abuse of *the sign of the cross*, that it became *the mark of the beast*: had *a circle*, or *a square*, been thought by the papists more convenient for their purpose, either of those figures would in that case have been as much *the mark of the beast* as *a cross*. If indeed the church of England either proclaimed *a crusade* against the dissenters, or laid *any mysterious weight* upon *the use of the cross in baptism*, she certainly would not *in these respects* have purified herself from the corruptions of *the papal beast*; but, concerning *all* her ceremonies, and therefore *the use of the cross in baptism* among the rest, nothing can be more moderate

The cruelties, that have been perpetrated under its sanction are notorious. I am strongly inclined to believe, that, when St. John beheld *the secular beast* making war upon *the saints,* he beheld him likewise with astonishment bearing the badge of *the cross:* for this was the very symbol worn by all those, who at the instigation of *the Pope* undertook those diabolical expeditions against pretended heretics, which were thence denominated *crusades.* In the time of *Innocent the third,* it was alleged against the unfortunate Waldenses and Albigenses, that they had cast the books of the Gospel into the common sewers in the sight of the bishops and

moderate and rational than the language which she uses. "In "these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe "any thing but to our own people only: for we think it con- "venient, that every country should use such ceremonies "as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour "and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect "and godly living, without error or superstition." Hence it appears, that she only wishes "all things to be done decently "and in order;" and that, if other protestant churches dislike *the sign of the cross in baptism,* she would by no means impose upon them the use of it, as an indispensable term of spiritual communion in a common Lord. She disapproves indeed of the endless *cruciform* evolutions of the Papists; but she can discover no reason, why *their* vain mummeries should make it sinful or superstitious in *her* ministers to sign a newly baptized child "with the sign of the cross, *in token that hereafter* "*he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified.*" Hence, "to take away all scruple concerning *the sign of* "*the cross* in baptism," she refers us for the true explication "thereof, and the just reasons for the retaining of it," to the 30th Canon.

priests. On the score of this lying accusation, *the zealous pontiff*, cut to the heart by such profaneness, determined to extirpate them with fire and sword. Accordingly, he proclaimed a solemn *crusade* against them, and sent preachers into all the regions of the West, injoining both sovereign princes and other Christian people, that, for the remission of their sins, they should forthwith sign themselves with *the cross*, and under that holy symbol should extirpate the pest which had invaded the Church *. *The secular beast*, faithful to the commands of his colleague, immediately assumed this badge; and ere long, throughout France alone, there were slain of the Reformed, according to Vitringa, *ten hundred thousand men*.

The childish superstition, to which the sign of *the cross* has been prostituted, is scarcely less notorious. On this *the Rubric of the Roman Missal* will be the best commentary. In consecrating the baptismal water, the priest is directed to divide it,

* "Papa Innocentius, his auditis" (namely, *the false accusations preferred against the Waldenses*), "non mediocriter "condoluit. Qui, missis prædicatoribus ad omnes regiones "occidentis, principibus aliisque populis Christianis, in suo- "rum remissionem peccatorum injunxit, ut se cruce signarent "ad hanc pestem extirpandum" (Matt. Paris. Hist. Mag. Angl. p. 241. cited by Mr. Sharpe.). This same badge of *the cross* will probably be again assumed in *the last holy war*, undertaken by *the beast* and *the false prophet*, seemingly against *the converted Jews* and *some powerful protestant maritime nation* (Rev. xix. 19, 20.). Of this war more will be said hereafter.

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in the form of *a cross*, with his extended hand, which he is immediately to wipe with a cloth. Afterwards he is again to touch the water with his hand: next he is to make *three crosses* upon the font: and then he is to divide the water with his hand, pouring it out, *cross-wise*, to the four parts of the world. Having duly gone through this process, muttering all the while in such a manner as not to be heard by the bye-standers, he is to change his voice, and recite a short prayer in the tone of reading. The prayer being ended, he breathes three times upon the water in the form of *a cross;* and then, resuming the low muttering tone of his former incantation, he drops a little wax into the water. Thrice he drops this wax into the water, and thrice he takes it out; blowing, at its last immersion, three times upon the water in the *cruciform* figure of the Greek letter Ψ Psi. Lastly, he mixes oil and cream with the water, moving his hand to and fro in the shape of *a cross;* and the consecrated *commixtio*, as it is termed, is thought to be then duly prepared for the administration of the sacrament of baptism. Nor is *the cross* used in this absurdly superstitious manner throughout the initiatory rite of Christianity alone. Holy eggs and holy candles, holy salt and holy water, go through a somewhat similar ceremony; and are marked, in a similar manner, with the sign of *the cross*. Nay, even when not immediately engaged in performing the rites of his multifarious adoration, let a Papist be assailed either by natural or supernatural terrors, and he will forthwith almost

mechanically commence the operation of *crossing* himself in various parts of his body *.

Such is the wonderful accuracy of the whole prophecy respecting both *the name* and *the mark of the beast*—Though the ancient Romans called themselves *Latins*, yet they were better known by the appellation of *Romans*. When *the Empire* was divided, both the *eastern* and the *western* members of it still denominated themselves *Romans;* but, for the sake of distinction, *its western branch* was henceforth styled *the Latin empire* and *its eastern branch the Greek empire*. *The revived beast* however, "that "was, and is not, and yet is," is in a special manner, under his last head, *the Latin empire:* and it is *the peculiar name* of *this identical revived beast*, which (the prophet tells us) comprehends *the number* 666. Now *the peculiar name* of *that beast* is *Latinus:* and *Latinus* exactly contains *the number* 666. —As for *the mark of the beast*, which I conceive to be *the cross*, this *mark*, no less than *the name Latinus*, is peculiar to *the beast that is*, or *the papal Roman empire*, as contradistinguished from *the beast*

* Missal. Roman. edit. Plantin. p. 273—285. cited by Mr. Sharpe. Mrs. Bowdler thinks, that *the name of blasphemy*, which St. John beheld written upon *the heads of the beast*, is *the mark* in question. According to this interpretation, none are permitted to buy or sell except those who are implicated in *the predicted blasphemy* or *apostasy* with which *the man of sin* has tainted *the Latin empire* (Practical Observ. on the Rev. p. 35.). If *the name of blasphemy* be at all alluded to in Rev. xiii. 16, 17, 18, I should think with Mr. Wrangham, that it is rather *the name* of the beast than his *mark*.

that

that was, or *the pagan Roman empire*. The *ancient Roman beast* despised *the cross*: but *the revived Roman* or *Latin beast* made it his peculiar badge not only in religious but civil matters, introducing it into his standards, blazoning it in the armorial bearings of many of his great men*, and displaying it upon the crowns of *all his ten horns*; insomuch that *the crescent* is not more *the mark of Turkey*, or *the dragon of China*, than the much abused symbol of *the cross* is of *the papal Latin empire—The name then of the beast is Latinus; the number of his name 666*; and *his mark*, ✠ *the cross*.

(3.) With his description of *the name of the revived beast* the prophet interweaves an intimation of the extreme jealousy with which *the ecclesiastical beast* should regard every opposition to his authority. All, who refused to bear the name of *Latins* or *Romans*, and to receive *the mark of the cross*, as badges of their communion with him, and as an acknowledgment of his supremacy, should be allowed neither to buy nor to sell.

No one can be ignorant of the tremendous in-

* "That, which made *this ordinary* so considerable, and so "frequently used in heraldry, was the ancient expeditions into "the Holy land, and the holy war: for the pilgrims, after their "pilgrimage, took *the cross* for their cognizance, and the ensign "of that war was *the cross*; and therefore these expeditions "were called *Croissades*. In these wars, the Scots carried *St. "Andrew's cross*; the French, *a cross argent*; the English, *a "cross or*; the Germans, *sable*; the Italians, *azure*; the Spa- "niards, *gules*." Guillim's Heraldry. p. 51.

terdicts

terdicts and excommunications of *the Pope*. St. John however does more than merely speak of them in *general* terms; he points out *the precise mode* of their operation. Bp. Newton has collected a variety of instances in which the predicted tyranny of *the ecclesiastical beast* has received even a *literal* accomplishment. "If any," says he, "dissent from the stated and authorized forms of "the Latin church, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics; and, in consequence "of that, they are no longer suffered to buy or "sell: they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil society. So "Roger Hoveden relates of *William the Conqueror*, that he was so dutiful to *the Pope*, that "he would not permit any one in his power to buy "or sell any thing, whom he found disobedient to "the apostolic see. So the canon of the council "of Lateran under *Pope Alexander the third*, "made against the Waldenses and Albigenses, injoins upon pain of anathema, that no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or "land, or exercise traffic with them. The synod "of Tours in France under *the same Pope* orders, "under the like intermination, that no man should "presume to receive or assist them, no not so "much as to hold any communion with them in "buying or selling; that, being deprived of the "comfort of humanity *, they may be compelled "to

* Such are the convincing arguments used by Papists against those whom they are pleased to style *heretics*. The same

" to repent of the error of their ways. *Pope* " *Martin the fifth*, in his bull set out after the " council of Constance, commands in like man- " ner, that they permit not the heretics to have " houses in their districts, or enter into contracts, " or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of " humanity with Christians *."

9. The sum then of the whole is this. *The two apocalyptic beasts* are *the two contemporary Roman Empires, temporal* and *spiritual*, each subsisting under its *proper head. The last head* of the one, under which it will go into perdition, is its *double head, the patricio-imperial line of the Carlovingian Emperors: the sole head* of the other is *the line of Popes* from *the year* 666, when *the saints* were formally given into the hand of *the little horn*, and when *the period of* 1260 *days* commenced. These *two Empires* mutually support each other in their joint tyrannical persecution of *the witnesses;* and are primarily, though unconsciously, influenced in their proceedings by *the infernal serpent.*

same pains and penalties appear to be still attached to excommunication in Ireland, so far as the Popish priests are able to enforce them. In the debate in the house of Lords (May 10th 1805) on what has been insidiously termed *the catholic emancipation*, Lord Redesdale publicly declared, that he knew a protestant gentleman, who had saved an unfortunate man under a popish sentence of excommunication from starving in the streets.

* Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiii.

III. In order that the close connection of *the two empires* may the more evidently appear, St. John gives us a complete double, though united, symbol of them both, as they stand leagued together till their final destruction under *the last vial* at the termination of *the* 1260 *years*.

" And there came unto me one of the seven an-
" gels, which had the seven vials, and talked with
" me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will shew
" unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that
" sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings
" of the earth have committed fornication, and the
" inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk
" with the wine of her fornication. So he carried
" me away in the spirit into the wilderness; and I
" saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast,
" full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads
" and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in
" purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold
" and precious stones and pearls, having a golden
" cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthi-
" ness of her fornication. And upon her forehead
" was a name, written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE
" GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABO-
" MINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the
" woman drunken with the blood of the saints,
" and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus:
" and, when I saw her, I wondered with great
" admiration."

Here again we behold *the great secular Roman beast seven-headed and ten-horned*, now represented as,

as closely leagued with *a mystic harlot*, in the same manner as he was before connected with *the two-horned beast*. The reason is this: *a harlot* is only another symbol of *an apostate idolatrous church*: both *the woman* and *the second beast* equally typify *the spiritual empire of the Papacy*. In the former symbol, *Popery* was described as the coadjutor and instigator of *the temporal beast*: in the present symbol, it is represented in the plenitude of its power, riding triumphantly upon the neck of kings, and exalting its authority far above that of its secular colleague *.

1. *The great whore is said to sit upon many waters.* *These waters* are explained by the angel to mean *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. The sitting therefore of the whore upon many waters* is precisely equivalent to *her sitting upon the beast*; for *the beast* symbolizes *the divided Roman empire*, and consequently *all the waters* or *nations* which it comprehends †.

2. *She*

* The construction of this compound hieroglyphic furnishes another argument, in addition to those already adduced, to prove that *the ten-horned beast* cannot be *the Papacy*. *The harlot* is evidently a distinct power from *the beast* upon which she rides. But *the Harlot* is *the Papacy*. Therefore *the beast* cannot be *the Papacy* likewise. It is not unworthy of observation, that the love of system has actually led some commentators to assert expressly, that *the beast* is the same as *his rider*. "Idem Anti-"christus per mulierem et per bestiam spectandus producitur." Pol. Synop. in loc.

† As the apostasy of the Romish church consisted in the revival of the old pagan demonolatry under a different name, the imagery

2. *She is the whore, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with whose infatuating cup all their subjects have been intoxicated.*

The kings of the earth are *the kings within the precincts of the Roman earth or empire;* and *the fornication,* which they have committed with *the whore,* is *spiritual fornication,* or an idolatrous apostasy from the simplicity of the Gospel.

As *the kings* or *horns of the secular beast* supported with all their might the corruptions of *the whore,* so were their subjects made drunk with her poisonous doctrines. None escaped, but *the two mystic witnesses:* and their refusal to partake of the wine of her fornication was the cause of all the persecution which they endured both from *the*

imagery of the present symbol is borrowed with admirable propriety from the mythological attributes of *the Great Mother* of gentilism. Under whatever name she might be venerated, she was invariably deemed a naviculer goddess and was represented as floating on the surface of the mighty deep. Of her votaries she was esteemed the universal parent: in her honour the mysteries were instituted: and a part of the formula, used by the initiator, was, *I have drunk out of the cymbal* or *cup.* Her masculine colleague, *the Great Father,* was considered as the son of the ocean or the abyss. Hence, with a similar allusion to ancient mythology, so far as the imagery is concerned, the first beast of the Apocalypse is said to be produced out of the abyss or the sea. It may be added, that the symbol of the Great Father was ordinarily some sacred animal: and that animal, in paintings and statuary, was often represented of a monstrous compound figure and provided with more heads than one.

kings

kings and from *the inhabitants* of *the Roman earth,* who had tasted of her maddening cup.

3. *The place, where St. John beheld the whore riding upon her scarlet beast, was the wilderness.*

He saw *the woman,* once the chaste spouse of Christ, now polluted with *spiritual fornication,* and preferring *the wilderness* of error, sin, and delusion, to her former appointed place *the inclosed vineyard* * of the Church. He saw her, so far from testifying any shame on account of her adulteries, glorying and triumphing with the brazen front of a determined strumpet in her manifold abominations. He saw her advancing yet another step in iniquity; and, instead of possessing the comparative innocence of resting satisfied with her own whoredoms alone, labouring to make proselytes to her fornications, tyrannizing over the struggling conscience of the irresolute, and "drunken with "the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus." When he saw a church of Christ thus fallen from her high estate, thus apostate, thus corrupted, thus persecuting the faithful with even more bitterness than pagan Rome; well might he wonder with exceeding great admiration. To a primitive believer the thing would seem as it were impossible; and St. John, who doubtless like the other prophets fully understood the *general* meaning of his own symbolical language, was probably at a loss to conceive how his prediction could ever be accom-

* Isaiah v. and xxvii.

plished

plished in a professed church of his meek and lowly master *.

4. *Upon the forehead of the whore was written, Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.*

Hence we may conclude, that *Babylon* was not her *real*, but only her *mystic*, name. Accordingly, when the angel teaches St. John "*the mystery* of "the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her," he explicitly informs him, that "the woman, which "he saw, is that great city which reigneth over the "kings of the earth." *This great city* however can be nothing but *the empire of Rome. Pagan Rome* it cannot be *in the days of the harlot;* because *pagan Rome* was rather *the learner* than *the teacher* of idolatry. If then it be not *pagan Rome*, it must be *papal Rome*. This point is yet further evident from the manner, in which the angel speaks of *the ten kings*. He tells the prophet, that they had not received their kingdom *as yet*, but should receive power along with *the beast* in one apocalyptic season: and he adds, that they should give their power and strength to *the revived beast;* or, in other words, that they should be *the secular beast's* en-

* St. John with the books of the ancient prophets before him could not but know, that *a harlot* was the type of *an apostate and idolatrous church*. The days of Aholah and Aholibamah were now past; Israel was no longer the church of the Lord. St. John therefore would be certain, that *the scarlet whore* must mean some future *Christian* church: hence naturally arose his great admiration. See Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.

gines

engines of persecution *, and should uphold with all their might the new system of idolatry, by the establishment of which *the beast*, that was not, ascendeth afresh out of the abyss. *The ten kings* therefore, who were *yet future* in the days of St. John and who erected their thrones upon the ruins of the ancient empire, who first gave their power to *the beast* and who afterwards should hate *the whore* their former paramour, have manifestly been contemporary, not with *pagan*, but with *papal, Rome: the whore* therefore cannot be *pagan* but must be *papal, Rome* †.

Thus it appears that this grand compound hieroglyphic of *the woman and her beast* represents *the whole of the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth; the woman* symbolizing *its spiritual empire*, and *her beast* symbolizing *its temporal empire:* that is to say, this complete hieroglyphic exhibits to us at one view *the two co-existing Roman empires*, which the prophet had before described separately under the symbols of *two friendly contemporary beasts*, leagued together for the purpose

* " It was given unto him *(the secular beast)* to make war " with the saints, and to overcome them" (Rev. xiii. 7.). This he did, at the instigation indeed of *the second beast*, but through the instrumentality of his own *ten horns*.

† The reader will find the whole character of *the harlot* excellently elucidated by Bp. Newton in his Dissertation upon this part of the Apocalypse; and the captious objection of the Bp. of Meaux to the present interpretation of it no less excellently answered by Bp. Hurd in his Introduction to the study of prophecy.

of erecting both a civil and an ecclesiastical tyranny over the minds as well as over the bodies of men *.

* Mr. Galloway thinks, that *the great whore* means *the confederacy of the beast, the false prophet, and the kings of the earth.* This opinion runs directly counter both to symbolical propriety, and to the plain declaration of St. John. *A whore* is the symbol of *a degenerate and corrupt church*, and is never used to typify *a conspiracy: the seven-headed and ten-horned beast*, upon which she is sitting, is manifestly *the great Roman beast*, which had already been described in the 13th chapter of the Revelation: and the Apostle explicitly tells us, that *the whore* is " *that great city* " which reigneth over the kings of the earth." Hence it is manifest, that she must be *the Roman empire* either *pagan* or *papal.* Consequently she cannot be *a confederacy*, as Mr. Galloway supposes, of *Papists, Mohammedans*, and *Infidels.* What is scarcely fair in a professed discussion of a prophecy, Mr. Galloway omits all that part of it which makes against his system. He quotes the 17th chapter of the Revelation, which fully describes *the whore* and *her beast*, only as far as the 6th Verse. See Comment. p. 276.

SECTION V.

The history of the true church during the period of the great apostasy—the harvest and vintage of God's wrath.

After this account of the persecution of the *witnesses*, the war of *the dragon*, and the rise and tyranny of *the two beasts*, St. John proceeds to describe *the state of the true Church during the same period of* 1260 *years;* its *great contest with the mystic Babylon at the time of the Reformation;* and *the judgments of God upon his enemies* during *the two grand periods* comprized under *the seventh trumpet*, namely *the harvest* and *the vintage* of God's wrath.

I. " And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on " the mount Zion, and with him an hundred " forty and four thousand, having his Father's " name written on their foreheads. And I heard " a voice from heaven, as the voice of many " waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: " and I heard the voice of harpers harping with " their harps. And they sung as it were a new " song before the throne, and before the four " beasts, and the elders; and no man could learn

" that

" that song, but the hundred and forty and four
" thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.
" These are they, which were not defiled with
" women, for they are virgins: these are they
" which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth:
" these were redeemed from among men, being
" the first fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.
" And in their mouth was found no guile: for
" they are without fault before the throne of
" God."

Hitherto we have beheld only the gloomy side of the affairs of *the Church*, the troubles and persecutions which she experienced from *the dragon* and *the two beasts;* we are now invited to contemplate that paradox, which real Christianity can alone explain. The 144,000, here mentioned, are the spiritual offspring of the twofold Church: and their mystic number is produced by multiplying 12 into 12, in allusion to the twelve patriarchs and the twelve apostles; and by again multiplying the square of 12 or 144 into 1000, in order to describe the faithful as constituting an exceeding great multitude *. These 144,000 are the immediate successors of the 144,000 sealed servants of God †, who bore their testimony

* See my remarks on this subject in Chap. x. Sect. 1. § II. 1.

† They are said to have been sealed in the age of Constantine, to separate them, as I have already observed, from the many that then began to " cleave to them with flatteries." Dan. xi. 34.

to

to the truths of the Gospel in the days of Paganism; and who "came out of great tribu-"lation," to enjoy a short respite from their troubles in the tranquil age of Constantine *. They are the same in short as *the two witnesses*, or *the line of faithful believers*, whom God supported by the invisible though powerful agency of his Spirit through the whole term of the reign of *the beasts*. In the particular history of the *Apostasy* itself, they are described as oppressed and prophesying in sackcloth: here they are represented in a state of exultation and triumph, as rejoicing in that "joy which no man taketh from them." The two accounts therefore, when put together, exhibit them to us, like the primitive Christians, as "sorrowful yet always rejoicing," as "rejoicing "in tribulation," and as even "exceeding joyful "in tribulation." That this exultation is purely of a spiritual nature, and that it subsists along with great temporal adversity, is evident both from the preceding external history of *the witnesses*, and from the intimations which are given even in the present chapter itself that *the Church* is still in a suffering state notwithstanding her triumphant spiritual joy in the Lamb †.

The 144,000 appeared to the Apostle as standing on *the mount Zion*, or in *the true Church*, because they constituted *the persecuted Church in the wilderness* ‡; and, as *the followers of the beast*

* Rev. vii. † See Rev. xiv. 12, 13. ‡ Rev. xii. 6, 14.

have *the mark* and *name* of *the beast;* so have these *the seal of God* impressed *, and *the name of God* written, on their foreheads. They alone are able to learn the new song of the heavenly harpers, because they alone are the worshippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jesus Christ; the adherents of *the Apostasy* offering up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. They are virgins, undefiled with women, inasmuch as they are free from the pollutions of idolatry; which is spiritual whoredom, and adultery. They follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, resolutely adhering to the religion of Christ in troublesome times as well as in prosperous ones, and fleeing into sequestered vallies and wild deserts rather than relinquish their profession of the Gospel. They are redeemed from among men, being rescued by the almighty power of divine grace from the corruptions and abominations of Babylon; and they are consecrated as the first fruits of Christianity unto God and the Lamb, an earnest and assurance of a more plentiful harvest, first at the era of the Reformation and afterwards at the yet more glorious era of the Millennium. In their mouth was found no guile: inasmuch as they handle not the word of God deceitfully, like Popish venders of indulgences, and preachers of purgatory, human merit, and idolatry; but faithfully and simply declare the way of ever-

* Rev. viii 3.

lasting

lasting life. And they are without fault before the throne of God, having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; God not imputing their trespasses unto them, but accounting them as if they had never sinned, through the imputed righteousness of Christ, who was made sin for them, in order that they might be made the righteousness of God in him.

By these 144,000, I understand peculiarly *the depressed Church in the wilderness* previous to the time of *the Reformation:* for history sufficiently demonstrates, that there have been in every age some faithful worshippers, who consented not to *the general Apostasy*, but who prophesied, although in sackcloth, against its abominations. These however went on their way in comparative obscurity, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord Jesus. They make no very prominent figure in history, nor were they able to shake the deep-rooted authority of *the man of sin.* Hence they are represented only as patiently exulting in their sufferings on mount Zion in the presence of the Lamb. We must next turn our eyes to those more efficacious and decisive measures, which forced the papal tyrant to tremble upon his usurped throne for his now disputed authority *.

* See Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiv. In the exposition of the first part of this chapter, I have followed his Lordship; in that of the succeeding verses I am obliged to dissent from him.

1. " And I saw another angel fly in the midst of " heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach " unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every " nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people: " Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give " glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is " come: and worship him that made heaven and " earth, and the sea, and the fountains of " waters."

The appearance of *the angel*, or *Christian minister* *, here mentioned, is sudden and unexpected. While the 144,000 are humbly singing the song of the Lamb in despised obscurity, this servant of God boldly shews himself in the very midst of *the symbolical heaven*, a conspicuous object to the whole world, armed only with the everlasting Gospel; which he openly preaches to them that dwell on *the earth*, or *the Roman empire*, loudly calling unto all nations to fear God and worship him only.

This striking and peculiar type will be found precisely to answer in every particular to *the dawn of the Reformation*. When the 144,000 had long rejoiced in their sufferings, and had long separated themselves from the communion of *the man of sin* in order that they might " follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth;" when a reformation of the glaring corruptions of *Popery* was little likely to originate in *the symbolical heaven* either *ecclesias-*

* See Rev. i. 20.

tical

tical or *secular:* then it was that Luther first stepped forward. "While the Roman pontiff," says the historian Mosheim, "slumbered in secu-
"rity at the head of the Church, and saw nothing
"throughout the vast extent of his dominion but
"tranquillity and submission; and while the
"worthy and pious professors of genuine Christi-
"anity almost despaired of seeing that Reforma-
"tion, on which their most ardent desires and
"expectations were bent: an obscure and incon-
"siderable person arose on a sudden, in *the year*
"1517, and laid the foundation of the long ex-
"pected change, by opposing with undaunted re-
"solution his single force to the torrent of papal
"ambition and despotism *."

(1.) *The angel is represented as bearing the everlasting Gospel.*

Accordingly, *the Gospel* was the only instrument which his antitype Luther used, in opposing the fury and machinations of his enemies, and in spreading the light of the Reformation. After the appearance of a special edict of *Leo the tenth*, in which he commanded his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgressions of every kind, and when the iniquitous traffic of indulgences was at its height; then did Luther raise his warning voice, and call upon the whole earth to turn away from those vanities unto one God and one mediator between God and man,

* Eccles. Hist. Cent. 16. Sect. i. Chap. ii.

to

to worship him only who made heaven and earth. Not content however with barely maintaining this evangelical tenet, he speedily turned the powerful two edged-sword of the Gospel, against his antagonists. In order that the people might no longer be deluded through their ignorance of the word of God, he published a German translation of the Bible; " the different parts of which," says Mosheim, " being successively and gradually spread " among the people, produced a sudden and al- " most incredible effect, and extirpated, root and " branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious " doctrines of the Church of Rome from the minds " of a prodigious number of persons."

Thus accurately did the type of *an angel bearing the Gospel* answer to the proceedings of the great reformer Luther: and it is worthy of notice, that the Reformation itself, which he was one main cause of introducing, and which was in reality a republication of the long concealed Gospel, has been actually so termed in a history of its progress quoted by Mosheim *. The rapidity with which it afterwards spread among the kindreds, tongues, and nations, is sufficiently well known; and its progress is further pointed out in *the type of the two angels*, who appeared to the prophet as closely following *the first*.

(2.) *The angel is seen to fly in the midst of heaven.*

* Historia Evangelii renovati.

In

In the language of symbols, *heaven* signifies either *the Church* or *the State*, according as it is taken in a *spiritual* or in a *secular* sense. But here, since the affairs of *the Church* are treated of, it seems most natural to understand it in a *spiritual* sense. In this sense accordingly the type accurately corresponds with the history of Luther. He was an Augustine monk; and, at the commencement of the Reformation, had not, like the Waldenses and Hussites, separated himself from the Church of Rome. On the contrary, he raised his voice in *the very midst of the ecclesiastical heaven*; and, at the first, was by no means inclined, either to quit the communion, or directly to oppose the authority, of *the Pope*. Many prior attempts had been made to bring about a reformation from *without* the western Church: but the only one, which proved in any degree successful, was made from *within* it *.

2. "And there followed another angel saying, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, be-"cause she made all nations drink of the wine of "the wrath of her fornication."

By this *second angel* I conceive Calvin and the members of the different reformed † continental churches to be peculiarly intended.

The preaching of Luther, hostile as it eventually proved to papal tyranny, was not originally so direct

* I mean not to say, that *no* prior attempts had been made from within it, but that none had been made successfully.

† I use the word *reformed* as it is familiarly used in contradistinction to *Lutheran*.

and

and undisguised an attack upon it as that of *the second angel.* Strongly under the influence of habits formed by a monastic education, he long hesitated entirely to throw off the yoke. When the open declaration of his opinions had raised him many enemies, though he firmly refused to recant without conviction, yet " he addressed himself " by letters, written in the most submissive and " respectful terms, to *the Roman Pontiff* and to " several of the bishops, shewing them the up- " rightness of his intentions as well as the justice " of his cause, and declaring his readiness to " change his sentiments as soon as he should " see them fairly proved to be erroneous." His own account of the state of his mind during this period will best shew with what extreme difficulty it extricated itself from the trammels of blind obedience to *the see of Rome.* " I found myself," says he, " involved in the controversy of indul- " gences alone, and as it were by surprise. And, " when it became impossible for me to retreat, " I made many concessions to *the Pope;* not " however in many important points; but cer- " tainly, at that time, I adored him in earnest. " In fact how despised and wretched a monk was " I then! Whereas, in regard to *the Pope,* how " great was his majesty! The potentates of the " earth dreaded his nod. How distressed my " heart was in that year (1517), and the follow- " ing; how submissive my mind was to the " hierarchy, not feignedly but really! Nay, how " I was almost driven to despair through the " agitations

" agitations of care and fear and doubt, those " secure spirits little know, who at this day insult " the majesty of *the Pope* with much pride and " arrogance! But I, who then alone sustained " the danger, was not so certain, not so confi- " dent. I was ignorant of many things, which " now by the grace of God I understand. I " disputed, and I was open to conviction. Not " finding satisfaction in the books of theologians " and canonists, I wished to consult the living " members of the Church itself. There were " indeed some godly souls, who entirely ap- " proved my propositions; but I did not con- " sider their authority as of weight with me in " spiritual concerns. *The popes, cardinals, bi-* " *shops*, and *monks*, were the objects of my con- " fidence. At length, after I became enabled to " answer every objection that could be brought " against me from the Scriptures, one difficulty " still remained, and only one; namely, that *the* " *Church ought to be obeyed* *. By the grace " of Christ, I at last overcame this difficulty " also †."

Such was the conflict which took place in the mind of Luther. But Calvin and the succeeding reformers treated *the Church of Rome* with an indignant roughness from the very beginning. Adopting the language of the Waldenses, who

* " I saw another angel fly *in the midst of heaven*."
†. Cited by Milner. Eccles. Hist. vol. iv. p. 331.

had

had avowedly separated themselves from her communion in obedience to the prophetic exhortation *, they scrupled not to apply to her the name of *Babylon*, and to denounce against her in the words of the Apocalypse the future † dreadful judgments of God. By the light of Scripture, the daring usurpations, the rank idolatry, and the blasphemous pretensions of *the Papacy* were detected and exposed. That undefineable dread of its heavenly authority, which at first so strongly influenced the mind of Luther, was unknown and unfelt by subsequent preachers; and, in the height of their zeal even exceeding their warrant, while they justly branded *Rome* with the name of *Babylon*, they prematurely stigmatized *the Pope* with that of *Antichrist*.

3. " And the third angel followed them, saying, " with a loud voice, If any man worship the " beast and his image, and receive his mark in " his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall " drink of the wine of God, which is poured out

* " Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers " of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4.

† " Babylon is fallen, is fallen." Isaiah xxi. 9. See Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xiv. " By the same figure of " speech, that *the first angel* cried, that *the hour of his judg-* " *ment is come*, this *second angel* proclaims, that *Babylon is* " *fallen*. The sentence is as certain, as if it were already " executed;" whence, after the manner of the ancient prophets, the present tense is used instead of the future.

" without

" without mixture into the cup of his indigna-
" tion; and he shall be tormented with fire and
" brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and
" in the presence of the Lamb. And the smoke of
" their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever,
" and they have no rest day nor night, who worship
" the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth
" the mark of his name."

As *the first* and *second angels* represent *the Lutheran* and *Calvinistic churches* of *the continent*, so I apprehend *the third angel* typifies *the insular church of England;* which is not professedly in all points either *Lutheran* or *Calvinistic*, and which has justly merited and obtained the glorious title of *the bulwark of the Reformation* *. The description, which is given of the office of *the third angel*, accurately corresponds with the part which *the Anglican church* has taken in the contest with the adherents of *Popery*. For more than a century after the Reformation, the writings of the English divines continued to denounce the vengeance of heaven against those, who still partook of the abominations of *the*

* *The Presbyteral and Calvinistic church of Scotland* must be considered as a member of *the second angel*, inasmuch as, although insular herself, she has derived both her discipline and doctrine from the reformed churches of the continent: while the venerable, though depressed, *episcopal church of Scotland*, may be esteemed, in a similar manner, a member of *the third angel*, being the same both in doctrine and discipline as *the church of England*, though, so far as her *present* line of episcopal succession is concerned, of later origin. See Skinner's Eccles. Hist. of Scotland.

apostate

apostate Roman beast, after all the warnings which they had received; and the ablest expositors of those prophecies, which relate to the corrupt tyranny of *the mystic Babylon*, have been children or fathers of our national Church. Of these it will be sufficient to mention the illustrious name of *Mede*; who, by his successful application of many of the predictions of Daniel and St. John to *Popery*, loudly called upon the whole world to come out of *the harlot city*, lest they should "drink of the wine of the "wrath of God."

4. "Here is the patience of the saints: here are "they, that keep the commandments of God, and "the faith of Jesus. And I heard a voice from "heaven, saying unto me, Write, blessed are the "dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; "Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from "their labours, and their works do follow them."

Gloriously successful as the Reformation eventually was, the patience of *the saints* was severely exercised during its progress. It was a season of great trial and persecution: and many of *them of understanding* perished in trying, and in purging, and in making white, their apostate brethren *. Great was the increase which the noble army of the martyrs then received. They overcame *the dragon*, not by the arm of flesh, but "by the blood of the Lamb, "and by the word of their testimony; and they "loved not their lives unto death †." Hence they

* Dan. xi. 35. † Rev. xii. 11.

had

had need of that consolatory declaration, "Blessed "are the dead who die in the Lord from hence-"forth." By their preaching, the gloomy fears of purgatory were dispelled; and the pious learned to build with confidence upon the assurance of the Spirit, that, whenever they depart hence and are no more seen, "they rest from their labours, and their "works do follow them *."

II. "And I looked, and behold, a white cloud; "and upon the cloud one sat, like unto the Son of "man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his "hand a sharp sickle. And another angel came out "of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him "that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle and "reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe. And "he, that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on "the earth: and the earth was reaped.

"And another angel came out of the temple "which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. "And another angel came out from the altar, which "had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to "him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in "thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the "vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe. "And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, "and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it

* For the substance of these remarks upon the characters of *the three angels*, I am indebted to Mr. Whitaker; whose mode of interpreting this particular portion of the Apocalypse I very much prefer to that adopted by Bp. Newton. See Whitaker's Comment. p. 430—436.

"into

" into the great winepress of the wrath of God.
" And the winepress was trodden without the city;
" and blood came out of the winepress even unto
" the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and
" six hundred furlongs."

1. Having passed the epoch of the Reformation, we now advance into the times of God's last judgments upon his enemies, the days of *the third woe-trumpet*. *Two remarkable periods* of the most conspicuous of these judgments, *the several steps* of the *whole* of which are afterwards described under *the seven vials*, are here arranged under *two grand divisions*, figuratively styled *the harvest* and *the vintage*. In the days of Bp. Newton, *the third woe-trumpet* had not begun to sound; none therefore of *the vials* were then poured out. Hence his Lordship justly observed, " What par-
" ticular events are signified by *this harvest* and
" *vintage*, it appears impossible for any man to
" determine; time alone can with certainty dis-
" cover, for these things are yet in futurity. Only
" it may be observed, that *these two signal judg-*
" *ments* will as certainly come, as *harvest* and
" *vintage* succeed in their season; and, in the
" course of providence, *the one* will precede *the*
" *other*, as, in the course of nature, *the harvest* is
" before *the vintage;* and *the latter* will greatly
" surpass *the former*, and be attended with a more
" terrible destruction of God's enemies*." But,

* Dissert. on Rev. xiv.

although

although *both these signal judgments* were future when Bp. Newton wrote, it has been our lot to hear the voice of *the third woe*, and to behold in *the French Revolution* the dreadful scenes of *the harvest*. Still however a more dreadful prospect extends before us. The days of *the vintage* are yet future: for the time hath not yet arrived, when the great controversy of God with the nations shall be carried on *between the two seas*, in the neighbourhood of *the glorious holy mountain*, in the blood-stained vale of *Megiddo*, in the land whose space extends *a thousand and six hundred furlongs* *.

2. Such

* After a long consideration of the subject, I rest in the opinion of Mede, Newton, Lowman, Doddridge, and Bengelius, that *the apocalyptic harvest* denotes *a harvest*, not *of mercy*, but *of wrath*. Mr. Mede, who has elaborately and minutely discussed the point, observes, that the idea of *a harvest* includes *three things; the reaping of the corn, the gathering of it in*, and *the threshing of it*; whence it is made a type in Scripture of *two direct opposites; of destruction*, when *the reaping* and *the threshing* are considered; of *restitution and salvation* when *the in-gathering* is considered (Comment. Apoc. in Messem.). Now the context of *the apocalyptic harvest* seems to me most definitely to teach us, that *a harvest of judgment* is intended. Throughout the whole book of Revelation, with the exception of a few passages which sufficiently explain themselves, *the earth* is used as a symbol of *the Roman empire pagan and papal*. Upon *this earth* all *the vials* of God's wrath are poured out, whatever subsequent distinction may be made in their effusion (Rev. xvi. 1.). It is *the vine of this earth* that is to be gathered when her grapes are fully ripe; and it is *the ripe harvest of this selfsame earth* that is to be reaped, when the time for reaping is come. Here we may note, that it is not, as in our Lord's parable (Matt. xiii. 24, 38.), said to be

2. Such are the contents of *the little book*. Its several chapters, running parallel to each other in

be *the harvest of a field*, which is afterwards formally explained to mean *the whole world*: but, as the sickle is thrust into *the earth* to gather *the vine of the earth*, so is the sickle likewise thrust into *the earth* to reap *the harvest of the earth*. If then *the earth* mean *the Roman empire* in the case of *the vintage*, which cannot reasonably be doubted, since those that are cast into *the winepress* are *the Roman beast*, *the false prophet*, and *the kings of that same earth*, and since (according to the acknowledged principles of symbolical imagery) *the vine of the earth* must denote *the corrupt church of the mystic Babylon*, whose abominations,—whose *ripe clusters* of iniquity,—will eventually occasion the ruin of its supporter *the secular beast* (Dan. vii. 11.): if, I say, *the earth* mean *the Roman empire* in the case of *the vintage*, must we not conclude from the almost studied similarity of phraseology used by the prophet, that *the earth* means likewise *the Roman empire* in the case of *the harvest*? And, if this be allowed, what idea can we annex to *the reaping of the harvest of the corrupt Roman empire*, which, like *the grapes* of that same empire, is declared to be ripe, except that of *some tremendous judgment* that should precede *the vintage* and more or less affect *the whole empire*? In such an opinion also I am the more confirmed by finding, that *a judgment about to befall Babylon*, the constant apocalyptic type of *the Roman church and empire*, is by Jeremiah expressly termed *a harvest* (See Jerem. li. 33.). This difference indeed there is between the two prophets, that Jeremiah dwells upon *the third part of the harvest, the threshing*; while St. John selects the imagery of *the first part, the reaping*: yet I cannot but think, that the context of both passages sufficiently shews, that *a harvest of judgment*, not *of mercy*, is intended. *The apocalyptic harvest*, both by its chronologically preceding *the vintage*, and by its being confined to *the earth* or *the Roman empire*, cannot denote either *the general in-gathering of Judah and Israel*, or *the universal influx of the gentiles to the millennian church*: and since,

in point of time, jointly furnish *a complete prophetic history of the Western Apostasy* during the whole period of *the* 1260 *years*, under *all the three woe-trumpets*. It principally however exhibits *the corruptions of Popery* under *the two first woe-trumpets: the third* is but briefly touched upon, and *that* only to prevent a break in *the period of* 1260 *years*. As *the little book* comprehends *the whole of this period*, a point which itself repeatedly insists upon *, it was necessary to notice the sounding of *the third woe-trumpet; the six first vials* of which, like *the two first woes*, are included in *the* 1260 *years*†. The prophet therefore *does* notice it: briefly informing us, that it should be shortly preceded by *a great earthquake*, which should occasion the fall of *a tenth part of the Latin city;* and that it should principally consist of *two tremendous manifestations* of God's wrath, *two seasons* of peculiar misery, *the harvest* and *the vintage*. A more par-

since, like *the vintage*, it is exclusively confined to *the idolatrous and persecuting Roman empire*, since in *both* cases the sickle is equally thrust into *this empire;* I feel myself compelled to conclude, that, like *the vintage*, it denotes *some signal judgment*. This *judgment* I suppose to be *the first part of the third woe; a woe*, which must be expected to mark a period in history no less striking than the successive founding of *the Saracenic* and *Turkish empires*.

* See Rev. xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14. xiii. 5.

† *The last vial*, or that which contains *the season of the vintage*, seems to be poured out as soon as *the* 1260 *years* expire; and it coincides with what Daniel calls *the time of the end*, or *the period of God's great controversy with the nations*.

ticular account of these matters he reserves for future consideration under the pouring out of *the seven vials:* and the account itself he places, not in *the little book*, but in *the larger book* of the Apocalypse; inasmuch as it concerns not merely *the western* but likewise *the eastern Apostasy*, and affects indeed more or less even the whole world. *The 15th chapter of the Revelation* therefore must be considered as chronologically succeeding *the 9th*, the intermediate chapters being a parenthetical history of *the West*, and constituting what St. John terms *a little book* together with *an introduction* to it. In *the 9th chapter*, we have an account of *the two first woes in the East:* in *the 15th*, the prophet begins to describe the effects of *the last woe.* Hence it is manifest, that the intermediate space must necessarily be occupied by *the little book* and *its introduction.* Let us now attend the prophet in his account of the effusion of *the vials*, which are all comprehended under *the third woe*, and which must be divided into three classes: *the vials of the harvest*, *the intermediate vials*, and *the vial of the vintage.*

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE EFFECTS OF THE LAST WOE-TRUMPET, THE POURING OUT OF THE SEVEN VIALS, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

THE prophet, having separately detailed the effects of *the two first woe-trumpets* in *the East* and in *the West*, and having briefly touched upon the sounding of *the third*, now proceeds to give us a more full account of the miseries which it should produce. For this purpose he divides it into *seven periods*, which he distinguishes by the pouring out of *seven vials;* and, to shew us that they are all comprehended under *the last woe-trumpet* the commencement of the blast of which he had already announced, he styles them *the seven* last *plagues*. They are in fact the same, I apprehend, as *the seven thunders*, the roll of which St. John heard, when he had finished his account of *the second woe-trumpet* as afflicting *the East*. Conceiving rightly that in point of time they were the next in order to the events which he had last detailed, he seems to have supposed that he was *immediately*

to write their history: but the great angel, having yet to reveal to him the contemporary effects of *the two first woe-trumpets* in *the West* and to bring down *the second woe trumpet* to its complete termination, commanded him to "seal them up "and to write them not;" swearing solemnly by the Almighty, that "the time should not be yet, "but that the mystery of God should be even "finished in the days of the voice of the seventh "angel." Those days are now come. We have seen, that the downfall of the tenth part of the Latin city at the close of *the second woe* is the downfall of Popery in England, which was completed in *the year* 1688: and we have likewise seen, that *the third woe* came *quickly* after in *the year* 1789, when the reign of Gallic liberty and equality commenced. Then it was, that the voice of *the seventh angel*, or *the third woe-angel*, began to be heard: consequently we may expect, that *the seven thunders* would then begin to roar, and that *the seven vials* full of the last plagues of an offended God would then begin to be poured out*.

The

* Mr. Whitaker thinks, that *the last woe-trumpet* or *the seventh trumpet* is the same as *the last trump at the day of judgment* mentioned by St. Paul. I have not met with any commentator who agrees with him in this opinion, except Daubuz and the Jesuit Cornelius à Lapide. As for *the vials*, he supposes many of them to have been long since poured out; and maintains that they will *all* be poured out before the sounding of *the last woe*, "after which he has never been taught to look for "any thing but the resurrection and its awful consequences." Thus he plainly makes *the seven last plagues* precede *the last woe*;

The history of *the two first woe-trumpets* is given in *a twofold order*, as affecting equally both *the East* and *the West*: but the history of *the third* is given only in *a single order*, inasmuch as *some of its vials* are poured upon *the one branch* of *the Roman empire*, and *others* upon *the other branch*; *all* of them not equally extending to *the whole empire*, as was the case with *the first* and *second woe-trumpets*. It may likewise be observed, that the contents of *one vial* are not represented as being

woe; and teaches us that *the last* of *the three woes*, whereof *the two first* are the woes of *the Saracens* and *the Turks*, is *the making all the kingdoms of this world the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ*. But this is *a blessing* rather than *a woe*: whence I have been induced to prefer the opinion of Mr. Mede, Bp. Newton, and Sir Isaac Newton, to that of Mr. Whitaker; namely that *the woeful part* of *the seventh trumpet* precedes its *joyful part*, and that it will bring much misery upon the earth ere the nations are converted to Christianity and brought into the pale of the Millennian Church. Since moreover *the seventh trumpet* is represented as *the last woe*, and since *the seven vials* are said to be *the last plagues*, I conclude with Bp. Newton that they must synchronize: otherwise there will be *two last* displays of God's wrath. Mr. Whitaker says, that *the seven vials* are denominated *the last plagues* because in them is filled up the wrath of God; and thinks, that we ought to be cautious of considering them as termed *last* merely *in point of time*. Bp. Newton, on the contrary, argues, that they *must* be *last in point of time*; because the wrath of God would *not* be filled up in them, if there were others *beside* them. See Mr. Whitaker's Letter to Dr. Ogilvie, p. 33—Comment. p. 445. —Bp. Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xv. I prefer the conclusion of the Bishop. But I have already sufficiently discussed the proper arrangement of the vials in Chap. i. § iv. 1, 2, 3.

fully

fully poured out before another *begins* to be emptied; though it is evident, that they *commence* in regular chronological succession. In this respect there is a striking difference between *the vials* and *the woe-trumpets.* We are explicitly informed by the prophet, that the blast of *the first woe-trumpet* entirely ceases before *the second* begins to sound; and that of *the second,* in a similar manner, before *the third* begins to sound *: but it is no where said, that *each vial* is *emptied,* before *its successor* begins to be poured out. Hence it is not unreasonable to conclude, that *two* or *more of the vials* may be pouring out at the same time, though the effusion of *one* commenced before that of *another.*

Besides the division of *the third woe-trumpet* into *the seven vials,* it is represented as comprehending likewise *two grand periods* of peculiar distress, figuratively termed by St. John *the harvest* and *the vintage. The harvest* occupies, I conceive, *the beginning* of *the third woe-trumpet,* or the earlier part of *the last days* of atheistical infidelity. It symbolizes *the miseries inflicted upon mankind by the tyranny of Antichrist,* and synchronizes with the first half of Daniel's account of *the king* who magnified himself above every god †. This period comprehends *the three first vials* and the short space that elapses between the commencement of *the third woe-trumpet* and the effusion of *the first vial. The vintage,* on the other hand,

* See Rev. ix. 12, 13. and xi. 14, 15. † Dan. xi. 36—39.

occupies

occupies the termination of *the third woe-trumpet*, or *the time of the end.* It relates to the great controversy of God with the nations, and the entire overthrow of *Popery* and *Infidelity.* This period synchronizes with the second half of Daniel's account of the *atheistical king* *; and is comprehended under *the seventh vial, the vial* as it may be termed, *of consummation. The fourth, fifth,* and *sixth, vials* are poured out in the intermediate space between *the vials of the harvest,* and *the vial of the vintage*; and *the last* of these three may be considered as preparing the way for the final manifestation of God's wrath. Thus it appears, that, agreeably to the analogy of *the natural harvest,* and *vintage,* some time will intervene between *the figurative harvest* and *vintage;* that this time will be marked by the pouring out, at certain indefinite periods, of *the fourth, the fifth,* and *sixth, vials;* and that at length, when *the mystery of God* is fully accomplished, when *the waters of the Euphrates* are completely dried up, when a way has been prepared for *the kings of the East,* and when *the great confederacy* has begun to be put in motion by the secret agency of the three unclean spirits, *the last tremendous vial of the vintage* will be poured out at the close of *the* 1260 *years.*

Subsequent to his account of *the seven vials,* St. John gives us a more enlarged prophetic history of

* Dan. xi. 40—45, xii. 1.

the

the vintage, prefacing it with a description of *the scarlet whore* previous to her being overtaken by the judgments of God. The events which he particularizes, are *the overthrow of Babylon, the battle of the kings of the earth*, and *the utter destruction of the beast and the false prophet*. All these events are to be comprehended under *the last vial*, as is manifest from this consideration. *The seven vials* are expressly said to be *the last plagues:* but, if the events in question be *not* comprehended under some one of them, *the vials* certainly are not *the last plagues;* because, in that case, they will be *prior* to those events: whence I conclude, that the events must necessarily be comprehended under some one of them. But, since the events are described as terminating the present order of things previous to the Millennium, and since *the last vial* of *the last trumpet* of *the last seal* cannot but be considered as *the vial of consummation;* the events must unavoidably belong to *the last vial*.

These preliminary observations being made, I shall proceed to a particular consideration of *each distinct vial*.

SECTION I.

Concerning the vials of the harvest.

The two first woe-trumpets described the rise of *the twofold Apostasy, Papal* and *Mohammedan*, and

and the plenitude of power to which it speedily attained; *the third* introduces the reign of *Antichrist;* and, after having foretold under *the vials of the harvest* the miseries with which he should afflict mankind, predicts under *the vial of the vintage* the downfall of *the Apostasy* and the total overthrow of all God's enemies.

We have already seen, that *the third woe-trumpet* began to sound in *the year* 1789; when the French revolution broke out, and when the tyrannical reign of liberty and equality commenced. This being the case, we must look for the pouring out of all *the seven vials*, which form so many distinct periods of *the third woe-trumpet*, posterior to *the year* 1789; observing however, that *the harvest* itself must be considered as commencing, not merely with *the first vial*, but with the earliest blast of *the trumpet.*

I. " And I heard a great voice out of the tem-
" ple, saying to the seven angels, Go your ways,
" and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon
" the earth. And the first went, and poured out
" his vial upon the earth: and there fell a noisome
" and grievous sore upon the men which had the
" mark of the beast, and upon them which wor-
" shipped his image."

1. *The earth* is *the Roman empire: the men, who bear the mark of the beast and worship his image,* are *the once superstitious, but now atheistical, members of the Latin Empire and Church:* and *the noisome and grievous sore,* which is represented

as

as first openly breaking out after the commencement of *the reign of anarchy* at the sounding of *the third woe-trumpet*, is *the delusive spirit of atheism*, or that gross lie of Antichrist *the denial of the Father and the Son* *.

2. Since this imagery is borrowed from *natural* maladies, for the right understanding of it we

* This mode of expression is perfectly agreeable to the scriptural practice of describing *spiritual* by *natural* maladies (See Isaiah i. 5, 6.). Sir Isaac Newton supposes, that "*a durable plague of war* is signified by *a sore and pain:*" and Mr. Bicheno has followed him in this opinion, applying the effusion of *the first vial*, which he thinks like myself was poured out in the autumn of *the year* 1792, to the calamities which the confederates of Pilnitz experienced from the arms of the French republic. But I cannot find, that we have any authority for annexing such an idea to the word *sore*. In 2 Chron. vi. 28, it is used in a general sense, including war indeed, but including likewise many other calamities. Signs of the Times. Part iii. p. 166, 167.

Nov. 20, 1807. Mr. Bicheno objects to my *mode* of arranging *the third woe* and its *first vial*, on the score of *the last trumpet* bringing judgments on *the enemies* of the Church, not on *the Church itself*. I am not conscious of having said any thing, which warrants such an objection. In considering *the third woe* as introducing *Antichrist*, I conceived it to bring very heavy judgments on the papal enemies of the true Church; and I believe, that it will ultimately produce their destruction, along with that of *Antichrist* himself. Where then is the contradictoriness, with which I am charged? The general character of *the three woes* is, that they should be woes to the inhabiters of *the earth* or *the apostate Roman empire* (Rev. viii. 13.). Has my supposed revelation of *Antichrist* been less strikingly a woe to them, than either *the Saracens* or *the Turks*? Supplement to the Signs of the Times. p. 27.

must

must consider how such maladies operate upon the human frame. As *the humours* then, which at length produce *a sore* in *the body natural*, secretly work for some time previous to their *eruption;* so *the humours*, which produced *this figurative sore* in *the body politic*, had long been concocting previous to its *open appearance. Atheism* indeed, or at least principles closely connected with *Atheism*, existed in the very days of the Apostles; for even then were there *many antichrists*, even then was *the spirit of Antichrist* in the world: but it began to be more systematically disseminated by *the dragon*, that original father of all lies, when he quitted his old station in *the figurative heaven* of *the Latin church*, and took a more advantageous position upon *the earth.* For a season, *the noisome sore* broke out only upon a few individuals; but, in the course of the latter half of *the eighteenth century*, the infernal ingenuity of Voltaire and his associates spread *the poisonous humour* far and wide throughout Europe.

3. Still however we did not behold the full effect of the devil's labours upon *the Roman earth.* The *third woe-trumpet* was to sound in *the year* 1789, introducing the horrors of the French revolution and the anarchical principles of *Antichrist;* ere *the noisome sore of Atheism* broke out under *the first vial.* But, when that famous epoch was past, and when on the memorable *26th of August*

gust of the year 1792, an open profession of *Atheism* was made by a whole nation once zealously devoted to the papal superstition; then was *the first vial* poured out upon *the earth*, then commenced *the eruption* of *the noisome sore*. At this period, in consequence of the success of *the French revolution*, corresponding societies and atheistical clubs were every where held fearlessly and undisguisedly. All Europe seemed to have drunk deep of the cup of trembling. Scarcely a Christian was to be found within the limits of *the papal Latin earth:* and, in protestant countries, many, who had clean escaped from them that live in error, had been allured, through the lusts of the flesh, by vain promises of liberty, of a lawless freedom from all restraint both civil and religious, to forsake the religion of their fathers. At this period moreover, the project of converting all the kingdoms of the earth into atheistical republics, framed after the model of the misshapen democracy of France, was unreservedly and triumphantly avowed by infidel demagogues; and was loudly and incessantly applauded by the populace throughout *the whole great Roman city*. When all these signs of the times concurred together, when *the poisonous humours* were perfectly concocted; then it was that *the noisome sore* broke out. *The principles of Antichrist* were now publicly developed in the face of the whole world: and, since all the prophetic periods of the Apocalypse

calypse are dated, not from the secret cogitations of the heart which are known only to the Almighty, but from some overt and prominent display of those cogitations reduced to actual practice and manifested to the eyes of all men; to what era shall we look for *the first undisguised avowal of national atheism*, for *the first open eruption of the noisome sore predicted under this vial*, except *the 26th of August* 1792, on which day *the denial of a God* was for the first time *formally established by law* *?

II. " And the second angel poured out his vial " upon the sea: and it became as the blood of a " dead man; and every living soul died in the " sea."

The pouring out of *this vial* immediately succeeds that of *the first:* and it relates, I conceive, to *the dreadful massacres of Revolutionary France* which commenced early in *the September of the*

* Mr. Butt supposes *Infidelity* to be *the third woe;* and thinks that *the first vial* " describes the shafts of ridicule pointed by " false philosophy against Popery." Conceiving however, that *the* 1260 *years* expire at *the termination of the second woe*, and that *the second woe* ended in *the year* 1697; he places *the commencement of the third woe and the first vial* immediately afterwards, when he says " Infidelity began to organize its conspiracies against the Christian religion, which have proved the grand instruments of destruction to Popery"— The period however, which he assigns for *the commencement of the first vial*, is not that of *the breaking out* of the symbolical sore, but only that of *the concocting of the humours* which *afterwards* produced it; and those humours did not *begin* to be concocted *then*, but *much earlier*. Comment. on Daniel's last vision. p. 56—59.

year

year 1792.*; massacres, which, extending from the metropolis to the provinces, converted that unhappy country into one great slaughter-house. *The sea* symbolizes *a nation in a violent state of effervescence and revolution:* and, when it is said to become as *the blood of a dead man,* we are evidently led to conclude, that the nation thus convulsed with intestine discord is deeply stained with the blood of its slaughtered citizens. That such has been in an eminent degree the case with France, in consequence of her being infected with *the noisome sore of Atheism,* we have all unhappily beheld, as it were, with our own eyes. We have seen murder accumulated upon murder; and the life of man, which every civilized legislature has hitherto regarded of the utmost importance, considered as a thing of no value. Of so little consequence did it appear in the eyes of Marat, *the friend of the people,* that he scrupled not to assert, that, in order to cement liberty, the national club ought to strike off 200,000 heads. During *the reign of terror,* as it was emphatically termed, " the revolutionary tribunal added daily, for a long " time, new victims to the thousands who had " fallen on the fatal days of August and September. " Here the mockery of justice was complete; for,

* The massacres which took place *before* this time, are not comprehended under *the second vial,* because they were perpetrated during the short space that elapsed between the commencement of *the third woe-trumpet* and the effusion of *the first vial.*

in

" in the condemnation of the accused, the convic-
" tion of the jury, without the examination of
" witnesses, or even the confession of the pri-
" soner, was declared sufficient to establish guilt."
As for the privilege of extending mercy to the condemned, it was contemptuously disclaimed: and all applications for pardon were rejected with the declaration, that the enlightened government of republican France possessed no such power*. It was esteemed indeed a sufficient crime to be suspected of being a suspicious person. " In such a
" state of society, when fortune, honour, and life,
" depended upon the caprice of sanguinary indi-
" viduals, it is not surprising that private assassi-
" nations were frequently perpetrated with impu-
" nity; and, from *the torpor and insensibility* that
" prevailed †, were regarded as trivial acts. Sui-
" cide likewise became the resource of the unfor-
" tunate, especially of those who had renounced
" every idea of religion, of the superintendance of
" a Providence, and of a future existence. Thus
" those, who escaped from the tribunal of the

* " I fly far off," said the poet Klopstock, " from the cries
" of that execrable tribunal, which murders not only the
" victim, but which murders also the mercy of the people."
Well then might Dumourier observe in his address to his own countrymen, " If the despotism of a single individual be dan-
" gerous to liberty, how much more odious must be that of
" seven hundred men, many of whom are void of principles,
" without morals, and who have been able to reach that supre-
" macy by cabals or crimes alone."

† —" it became as the blood of *a dead man*."

" ruling

" ruling faction, perished by their own hands.
" Valazé stabbed himself; Echelle and Condorcet
" preferred poison; L'Huillier killed himself in
" prison; Rebecqui drowned himself: they were
" both agents in the atrocities of Avignon, and *the*
" *second of September*. Hidon, and the academi-
" cian Champfort, fell by their own hands. Such
" also was the end of Roland, who was one of the
" principal actors in the revolution of *the tenth of*
" *August*—In the short space of two years, al-
" most every individual of the principal actors in
" that revolution was brought to a violent end.
" Danton and Westerman, the one who directed,
" and the other who executed, the counsels of the
" insurgents, perished on the same day, and on
" the same scaffold. A similar fate befell many
" of those, who decreed the death or imprison-
" ment of the king. Of the 693 members of the
" Convention, who voted that the king was guilty,
" seven were assassinated, eight were suicides,
" thirty-four were proscribed, ninety-two were im-
" prisoned, and sixty-five were guillotined. The
" addition of those, who have since suffered in
" various ways, will swell this account to a far
" greater number. *Thus, for a considerable time,*
" *in the interior of France each recent event sur-*
" *passed in horror that which preceded it: and the*
" *metropolis was the centre of massacre, atheism,*
" *and anarchy. The conduct of the governors and*
" *the governed was equally an outrage to all deco-*
" *rum, humanity, and consistency of conduct*—In
" short

" short, it appears, that there have been *two mil-*
" *lions of persons* murdered in France, since it has
" called itself *a republic**." After the downfall of Robespierre, the effusion of blood began to abate: for *the vial of the second angel* was then exhausted. France, however, was previously converted into *a vast Aceldama;* or, to use the strong language of prophecy, *its revolutionary sea* "became as *the*
" *blood of a dead man,* and *every living soul died in*
" *the sea.*"

III. " And the third angel poured out his vial
" upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they
" became blood. And I heard the angel of the
" waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which
" art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast
" judged thus. For they have shed the blood of
" saints and prophets, and thou hast given them
" blood to drink; for they are worthy. And I
" heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord
" God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judg-
" ments."

As *the sea* signifies *a nation in a violent state of revolutionary tumult,* so *rivers* and *fountains* symbolize *kingdoms* and *their heads existing in the opposite state of a regular and settled government.* These *mystic streams* are *the different powers of the papal Latin empire;* which were now to receive, by the unheard of inroads of a barbarous republi-

* Kett's Hist. the Inter. vol. ii. p. 243—252.

can enemy, the due reward of their former persecutions of the saints. The *vial* destined to affect them seems to have been poured out on *the 19th of November* 1792; when the National Convention declared war against every existing government by the famous decree, which offered fraternity and military assistance to all people desirous of procuring liberty: and its consequences were soon visible. By a long and bloody war, the whole constitution of the Germanic body was shaken to its very centre: and its *emperor*, the successor and representative of *Charles the fifth* that great enemy of *the witnesses*, and *of the perjured Sigismund* that wretched tool of papal malice, trembling for the safety of his capital, was compelled to sue for an ignominious peace with the republic of France. In the course of the same war, *papal Italy* was overrun, and pillaged of every thing valuable: *Savoy*, the ancient parent and persecutor of the Waldenses, was wrested from its sovereign, nothing in a manner being left to him but the empty title *of a king*: *Spain*, after suffering for a time the horrors of war, was reduced in effect to the state of a mere vassal province of France: the renegado inhabitants of *the united provinces*, who preferred their pelf to their God, and whose polluted presses had long teemed with the blasphemous productions of Voltaire and his associates, were first duped into a revolution, and have ever since been plundered and harassed by their unrelenting tyrants: and *the Helvetic confederacy*,

in

in *name* partly papal and partly protestant, but in *reality* tainted with atheism to its very core *, was dissolved; its citizens were massacred; and its territory was plundered, by the infernal cruelty and harpy rapacity of republican banditti. Future historians will speak of these events with astonishment. They will describe Europe, as bleeding at every pore, and as trembling for the fate of every civilized government. They will detail battle after battle, massacre after massacre, campaign after campaign. They will represent fertile provinces wasted with fire and sword: and they will speak with horror of rapes and murders, of pillage and extortion †. But,

* "*Holland* was the grand asylum of infidelity in the North, "the nursery and chief propagator of its works by the licen- "tious liberty allowed to the press"—and as for Switzerland, D'Alembert and Voltaire boasted, that "in Calvin's own town "there were but a few beggarly fellows who believed in Christ, "and that from *Geneva* to *Berne* not a Christian was to be "found."

† Such was the rapacity of the republican tyrants, that "two "years had been sufficient to place the countries conquered by "France," the Netherlands, Holland, and the states situated between the Meuse and the Rhine, "on a level with herself, and "to reduce them to one common equality of death and misery— "These countries, but a short time before so rich and so abun- "dant, were exhausted" by bearing the whole burden of maintaining the French army; "their whole specie was absorbed by "contributions, their manufactures were suspended, and their "produce consumed" (*Hist.* of the Campaign of 1796. p. 4.). The same work contains a very full account of the various robberies systematically committed by the French in Germany and Italy (See p. 44, 70, 241, 247, 249, 250, 254, 256, 364, 365, 366.).

But, while they present this dreadful scroll of human calamities to the sickening attention of posterity, they will not fail to attest, that these heavy judgments of the Lord have principally fallen upon *the rivers and fountains of the papal Roman empire. Protestant states*, that have in any measure preserved the faith of their ancestors, have in a manner been exempt. Self-defence and wanton provocations compelled *England* to enter into the contest. Her firmness, under Providence, blasted all the designs of her malicious enemy against *herself;* and drove him back to his own shores disgraced and vanquished, with his navy shattered and with his mariners disheartened. But *her hapless allies*, already devoted by the just judgment of God to drink in *their* turn torrents of blood, inasmuch as they have heretofore profusely shed the blood of saints and prophets, it exceeded her power to save. The mighty arm of the Lord snatched *her* from impending destruction, and withered the boasted strength of her foe when directed against *herself:* but the angel of the waters, while *she* was preserved in the midst of wide-extending

366.). In short, the order given by the Directory to their generals was, that "they should maintain their troops by victory;" an order so faithfully obeyed by Buonaparté, that he "had no "hesitation to say, in the proclamation which he made to his "soldiers in entering into Carynthia, that all the expences of "the army of Italy, during eleven months, had been paid by "the conquered countries, and that he had besides sent 30 mil-"lions of livres to France"-(Ibid. p. 5, 366.). These were some of the blessings of republican fraternity!

havock

havock and desolation, sternly denounced the vengeance of heaven against *her popish confederates*. "They have shed the blood of saints and "prophets, and thou hast given them blood to "drink; for they are worthy*."

From what has been said it appears, that *the three first vials* relate to *the French Revolution*, describing at once *the principles* upon which it was founded, and *the miseries* both *internal* and *external* which it has produced. This *tremendous revolution*, which more or less has affected *the whole Roman empire*, I conceive to be *the first period of the third woe-trumpet*, which St. John figuratively describes under the image of *a harvest*; a harvest not of mercy, but of God's wrath against the nations. After *this figu-*

* Mr. Galloway whimsically supposes, that *the angel of the waters* is *the maritime sovereign of Great Britain*. In the well-deserved encomiums, which he bestows upon our revered monarch, I heartily concur, though I cannot think that *he* is meant by *the angel of the waters*. *This angel* is manifestly no other than *the angel*, who had just poured out *his vial* upon *the waters of the rivers and fountains*; whence he is naturally styled *the angel of the waters*, or *the angel whose influence affected the waters*. Mr. Galloway appears to me to have been by no means successful in his interpretation of any of *the vials*, excepting *the sixth*, which he rightly applies to *Turkey*. In his elucidation of *the third* he has been peculiarly unhappy. Entirely quitting the language of symbols, he fancies that *the rivers* and *fountains* mean *Germany*, for no other reason but because *that country is well watered with abundance of large streams*. In a sermon, which I published some years ago upon the *the pouring out of the vials*, I was right in my *general* idea respecting them, but in more than one instance wrong in my *particular* application of them.

rative

rative harvest has been gathered in, there is to be a sort of pause between it and the commencement of *the vintage.* Revolutionary frenzy having subsided, the affairs of the world are *in some measure* to return to their old channel: yet they are not to roll on *smoothly;* for *the interval* between *the harvest* and *the vintage* will be marked by various most important events. These events are predicted under *the three following vials.* As for *the harvest,* we may perhaps pronounce it to have been gathered in, when France once more became a monarchy, and when a general peace was concluded in *the year* 1801.

SECTION II.

Concerning the three intermediate vials.

The reader must decide for himself how far it is probable, that *three* out of *the seven vials* have already been poured out at the commencement of *the last woe-trumpet,* constituting jointly *that grand period* of it, which by St. John is styled *the harvest,* and by which I understand *the French Revolution. The concluding vial* is reserved for the end * of it, or

* When I say *the end,* I must of course be understood to mean *the end of the woeful part of this trumpet.* Its succeeding *joyful part* relates, as I have already observed, to *the inauguration of the millennian Church.*

the

the termination of *the* 1260 *years;* and comprehends *the second grand period of the vintage.* As for *the fourth, fifth,* and *sixth, vials,* I consider them as occupying *the intermediate space* between *the harvest* and *the vintage;* and am inclined to view *the sixth vial* in the light of a harbinger and precursor of *the last.* Like a herald it prepares the way, and makes every thing ready for the final tremendous manifestation of God's righteous judgments upon his enemies.

I. " And the fourth angel poured out his vial " upon the sun; and power was given unto him to " scorch men with fire. And men were scorched " with great heat, and blasphemed the name of " God, which hath power over these plagues; and " they repented not to give him glory."

In the language of symbols, *the sun of a kingdom* is *the government of that kingdom;* and *the sun of an empire,* if it be a divided empire, is *the government of the most powerful state within that empire.* When *the political sun* shines with a steady lustre, and yields a salutary warmth, it is a blessing to a people. But, when it glares with a fierce and unnatural heat, scorching all the productions of human industry with the intolerable blaze of a portentous tyranny, it is the heaviest curse which can befall a nation.

Since the whole prophecy of the Apocalypse relates to *the Roman empire,* the *sun* mentioned under this *vial* must be *the sun of the Roman firmament:* since the pouring out of *all the vials* takes place

place long posterior to the division of *the empire*, this *sun* must be *the sun of the divided empire:* and since *the three first vials* have carried us to the end of *the harvest* or *the anarchical horrors of the French Revolution*, this *sun* must mean *the government of that state within the limits of the empire* which at the *present* era is the most powerful. The prediction then of *the fourth vial* obviously intimates, that the frantic scenes of *the harvest* should be succeeded by *a systematic military tyranny;* which should be exercised over *the Latin empire* by the government of the most powerful state then existing within its limits. The Roman world, exhausted with the miseries of the symbolical *harvest*, should be constrained by force of arms to submit to the lawless domination of an unrelenting despot.

This *vial*, if I mistake not, began to flow on *the 4th of August* 1802, when Buonapartè was formally invested with the First Consulship for life: and it continued to empty itself with increasing rapidity, when in *the May of the year* 1804 he was proclaimed Emperor of the French. In pointing out *the particular government* intended at that period by *the scorching sun* of *the Latin or Papal firmament*, the reader will doubtless have anticipated me. The Popish states in *the year* 1802 were France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sardinia, and Etruria. Of these, I apprehend, no one will be inclined to deny, that France was by many degrees the most powerful; and consequently that *its government* must

must inevitably be esteemed *the sun* of the system *. To observe then the accurate completion of the prophecy

* Should the present usurper of the throne of France, who already emulates the imperial rank of Austria, or should any successor of his at some future period, proclaim himself *Emperor of the Romans*, and thus transfer the crown of Charlemagne from Germany to France, as it was heretofore transferred from France to Germany: he would then, like Charlemagne, be the representative of *the last head of the beast*. Buonapartè is already in fact master of Italy, and appears to be upon the eve of reviving the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, Feb. 1805.

Since this note was written, the usurper of the throne of the Bourbons has formally proclaimed himself *king of Italy*, and has encircled his brows with the ancient iron crown of the Lombard sovereigns. Thus is one of the great maxims of German jurisprudence completely overturned; namely, "that the prince, "who was elected *Emperor* in the German diet, acquired from "that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome" (See Gibbon's Hist. of Decline and Fall. vol. ix. p. 191.). May 1805.

I have now to add, that the disastrous termination of the campaign of 1805 has made the chief of the French government *the undoubted representative of Charlemagne*, and consequently *the last head of the beast*. The house of Austria seems tacitly to have exchanged the title of *Emperor of the Romans* for that of *Emperor of Austria:* and, although Buonapartè has not yet formally assumed it, it can add nothing to his power when he *does* assume it, for he is already *the uncontrouled emperor of the western continental Roman world*. June 3. 1806.

Since this was written, a second disastrous campaign, that of 1806 and 1807, has completed and confirmed the overwhelming influence of France: the Germanic body has been dissolved: the empire of Germany has been transferred under a new title to France: and the head of the house of Austria has formally resigned the Carlovingian imperial dignity. The emperor of the French is now clearly the representative of *the last head of the Roman*

phecy of *the fourth vial*, in which it is said that power was given to this *sun* to scorch men with fire and that they were scorched with great heat, we have only to cast our eyes over the continent. A system of tyranny, hitherto unknown in Europe except in the worst periods of the Roman history, has been established, and is now acted upon, by him who stiles himself *Emperor of the French:* and *the scorching rays* of military despotism are, at this moment felt, more or less, throughout France, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and the west of Germany. A regular plan of making each man a spy upon his neighbour destroys all the comfort and all the confidence of social life: and France, with her degraded provinces, or, as they are termed with diplomatic mockery, *allies*, groans under the weight of endless requisitions, levies, and extortions, at once tormented herself, and the savage tormentor of others*.

1. The

Roman beast. Consequently, whatever is said of that *last head* in the remainder of the prophecy, must be understood as relating to the imperial government of the west under the Napoleonic dynasty. Nov. 23. 1807.

* Even before the era of the Revolution, and previous to the vast acquisition of power made by France, since that convulsion, the sovereigns of the Capetian dynasty were so conscious of their preponderating influence in Europe, that, with a kind of arrogant fatality, they assumed for their distinguishing badge *the sun*, with this motto, *Nec pluribus impar, alone equal to many.* This notion of superiority indeed was so familiar to Frenchmen, that the health of his sovereign is said to have been once proposed by a French Ambassador to Lord Stair, under the very name of *the sun*,

1. The effect, produced both by *these plagues* and by *the following ones*, will only be blasphemy and hardness of heart, instead of a reformation of principles and practice. *The earthquake*, which overthrew *the tenth part of the city*, caused, as we have seen, *the remnant of the seed of the woman* to give glory unto the Lord: but the effusion of *the vials* upon God's enemies produces not the least tendency to repentance. We must not therefore look for any further reformation from *Popery**; for *the vials* are instruments of God's wrath, not of his mercy. France accordingly *has nominally* returned, like a dog to its vomit, to her old alliance with the blasphemous corruptions of *Popery*: but, according to every account of eye-witnesses, she still *really*

sun. With the same idea no doubt the largest ship in the French navy was called *the royal sun*. Upon *this sun*, or *the government of France*, we have now beheld *the fourth vial* poured out, enabling it to scorch men with fire.

Mr. Sharpe thinks, that *the scorching of the Sun* means *unlimited monarchy in general*, operating in the keeping up of standing armies and martial law. But this extension of the symbol, from *the figurative sun of the divided Roman empire* to *every separate star of its firmament*, seems to be unnatural and unwarrantable.

Since this was written in *the year* 1804, the sphere of the influence of *the scorching sun* has been tremendously increased; and there is now scarcely any part of *the western Roman empire* unaffected by its intolerable blaze. June 3. 1806.

I need scarcely add, that this sphere has recently been yet more increased. Nov. 23. 1807.

* I have already stated other grounds, besides this, when treating of *the ten-horned beast*, for adopting such an opinion.

and

and *individually* strengthens herself in the yet more blasphemous abominations of *Antichrist*.

2. Yet, although there will be no further reformation, it does not appear, that the inspired writers give any intimations of some still more dreadful persecution of *the witnesses*, than that which they have already undergone from *the two Latin beasts*: on the contrary, Scripture seems to me at least rather to lead to a directly opposite opinion. I mean not indeed to deny, that *individual* protestants, those for instance who reside in *popish* countries, may experience persecution; *these* will continue to prophesy in sackcloth to *the very end of the* 1260 *days*: I would only be understood to intimate, that I can discover no warrant for expecting that *Protestantism in general*, as *nationally* professed, will ever be so far subdued by *Popery*, as to undergo throughout the whole world *a grand universal persecution*. The troubles, produced by incessant war with *the atheistico-papal powers*, will be the great means of purifying *the Church*; not, I think, any persecution resembling those of *the pagan Emperors* or *the Roman pontiffs* in the plenitude of their power.

I am led to form this opinion by observing, that *all the vials of the last woe-trumpet* are represented as being poured out upon *the Papal and Mohammedan Roman Empire**; upon *those, that have the*

* "Phialæ omnes," says Mr. Mede, "in bestiam (scil. Romanam) effunduntur" (Com. Apoc. in loc.). "Go your ways, "and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the *earth*" (Rev. xvi. 1.). *The earth* throughout the Apocalypse denotes *the Roman empire*.

mark

mark of the beast; upon those, that have shed the blood of saints and prophets: upon those, that have blasphemed the name of God, or have apostatized more or less from the truth; upon the throne and kingdom of the beast. None of these particulars are descriptive of *such protestant states*, as have held fast the faith of their ancestors, and have not allowed themselves to be deceived, like Holland, Switzerland, and protestant Germany, by the lie of *Antichrist.* The *last plagues*, comprehended under *the third woe-trumpet*, are poured out *only* upon *Papists*, *blaspheming Atheists*, and *Mohammedans:* and, although under *the seventh vial* "there shall be "a time of trouble, such as never was since there "was a nation:" yet it is a time of trouble to none but *the beast*, *the false prophet*, and *the congregated kings of the Roman earth.* At the glorious era of *the Reformation*, the voice of the Lord called aloud from heaven, "Come out of the mystic Babylon, my "people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and "that ye receive not of her plagues." Surely then we must unavoidably conclude, that those, who *did* come out of her, who *obeyed* the warning voice, who *ceased* to be partakers of her sins, who suffered themselves not *a second time to be deluded* by the yet more gross lie of atheism, *will likewise receive not of her plagues.* Whether *the mighty king of the North*, who is neither *papist* nor *protestant*, and whose ample territories are without the limits of *the great Latin city*, be destined to inflict, "at the "time of the end," its death-wound upon the spiritual

ritual empire of *Mohammed*, events alone can determine. The position of his dominions gives him immediate access to the realms both of Persia and Turkey: but upon this point I presume not to be wise *above what is written*. It *is* however written, that, although *the dragon* shall direct the rage of his favourite minister *Antichrist* against *the remnant of the seed of the woman**; yet *the vials* shall be exclusively poured out upon the *enemies* of God. Hence I conjecture †, that this final attempt of *the dragon* will totally fail of success, because it exceeds the peculiar commission of *the infidel king*: and hence I conclude, that, as protestantism has hitherto been marvellously preserved amidst the plagues of *the papal Babylon*, so it will be preserved even to *the time of the end*.

II. "And the fifth angel poured out his vial "upon the throne of the beast: and his kingdom "was full of darkness, and they gnawed their ton- "gues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven, "because of their pains and their sores, and re- "pented not of their deeds."

In the Apocalypse mention is made of *two beasts*, the *secular* and *the ecclesiastical*; and it might be doubted *which* of the two was here intended, were

* Rev. xii. 17.

† I may do more indeed than merely *conjecture* that such will be the case: *the complete failure* of this last attempt of *the dragon* is *expressly* predicted in the overthrow of *the false prophet* and *his adherents* at *the battle of Armageddon*, in the region *between the two seas*.

we

we not assisted in our inquiries by the general context of the whole prophecy. Whenever *the beast* is *simply* mentioned, by *way of eminence* as it were, I believe it will invariably be found, that *the ten-horned* or *secular beast* is meant *, not *the two horned* or *ecclesiastical beast*. In addition to this general proof, the particular context of the present passage may be adduced. The angel is said to pour *his vial* upon *the throne of the beast*. Now *the first beast* is expressly said to have had *a throne* given him by *the dragon;* because, although *nominally* Christian, he exercised his secular authority, like his predecessor *the pagan Empire*, in persecuting *the Church of God*†: whereas no mention is made of *the throne of the second beast*, and for this plain reason: the secular authority of *the Pope* was confined within the narrow limits of an Italian principality, and all the persecutions which he ever excited against the faithful were carried into effect by *the first beast* through the instrumentality either of his *last head* or of his *ten horns*‡. Hence I think it manifest, that *the beast*, upon whose *throne* the *present vial* is poured, is *the first* or *secular beast*.

* See Rev. xiv. 9, 11. xvi. 2, xix. 19. † Rev. xii. 2.

‡ All the different martyrs, who were persecuted to death as heretics, after they had been found guilty by the ecclesiastical courts were formally delivered over to the secular arm for punishment. "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," was the constant language of *the two-horned beast*, as it heretofore was of the Jewish priests when demanding the death of Christ. Sometimes even, with a crocodile affectation of clemency, *the secular beast* was besought by his merciful colleague not to deal too harshly with the condemned.

What

What is precisely meant by this judgment it is impossible at present to determine with any certainty, inasmuch as it is yet future. If however we may argue from analogy, since *the great city* means *the Roman empire*, and since *the throne* means *the authority exercised within that empire by its head* *; the *pouring out of a vial upon the throne of the beast, so as to fill his whole kingdom with darkness*, seems most naturally to mean *some severe blow aimed directly at his authority, which should fill his whole kingdom with confusion, and irritate himself and his adherents to a pitch of demoniacal madness.*

The beast here spoken of is *the beast under his last head:* but *what power* will be that *last head*, when *the present vial* is poured out, must be determined by the event †.

III. "And

* Vide supra Chap. ii. § II. 3.

† I have already observed, that *the emperor of the French* is now clearly the representative of *the last head of the Roman beast*; and, consequently, that whatever is said of that *last head* in the remainder of the prophecy must be understood as relating to *the imperial government of the west under the Napoleonic dynasty* (Vide supra note * § I.). With this clue, recent events will enable us to understand the remarkable prophecy of *the fifth vial*; which, when the present work was originally published, was an unaccomplished prediction. I could then only say in general terms, that *the pouring out of a vial upon the throne of the Roman beast under his last head, so as to fill his whole kingdom with darkness*, denoted *some severe blow aimed directly at his authority, which should fill his whole kingdom with confusion and irritate himself and his adherents to a pitch of demoniacal madness.* This I could safely say was the *abstract* meaning of the prophecy: but time alone could

III. "And the sixth angel poured out his vial "upon

could direct us in the proper *application* of it. To such an application, time, the best interpreter, now *has* directed us very unequivocally.

The Napoleonic government having become *the last head of the Roman beast* during the effusion of *the fourth* and previous to the effusion of *the fifth vial*, the calamity, foretold under *the fifth vial* as about to fall upon *the Roman beast under his last or Carlovingian head*, must in consequence fall upon the Napoleonic government of the west. And, accordingly, I may now venture to say in public what I have often said in private, that, from the moment the imperial sovereignty of the western empire was transferred from Austria to the government of Napoleon Buonapartè, I fully expected that the visitation of *the fifth vial* would fall upon that government, though I had never ventured to anticipate even in conjecture the amazing *extent* of the visitation. I looked out for some signal reverse of fortune and for some direct attack upon the authority of the usurper, which should retard the rapid progress of events, and which should thus regularly throw the close of *the* 1260 *days* to *the year* 1866: but *such* a reverse and *such* an attack, as we have recently witnessed, though the prophecy has been most fully and most wonderfully accomplished by them, I was not sanguine enough to expect. But it is time that I now proceed to the application.

I apprehend then, that *the fifth vial* began to be poured out upon *the throne of the beast* in the summer of 1808; when the power of Buonapartè was first successfully resisted in Spain, and when he himself was openly branded by the patriots as an usurping tyrant whom they determined (if possible) to pull down from his seat of power. This opposition was *apparently* more vexatious than formidable; and many persons imagined, that it could not long continue. I was however of a contrary opinion, though I pretended not to say what would be its final issue; because I suspected it to be the commencement of *the fifth vial* (See a paper on this subject by me in the Christ. Observ. for 1808. p. 757, 758.). Events have shewn that I was right. Through the

" upon the great river Euphrates; and the water
" thereof

powerful assistance of England directed by the first captain of the age, the cause of Spanish patriotism continued to gain ground: nor did the mighty reaction cease, until the united banners of three brave nations waved over the fields of southern France.

While this attack upon the bestial throne was successfully conducted from the south, the imperial representative of *the last head*, instead of prudently directing all his means to stem the torrent, and instead of remaining in peace even at the expence of any sacrifices with his north-western neighbours, madly plunged, in the summer of 1812, into an unprovoked and most impolitic war with Russia. Yet, while he acted in defiance of the principles of ancient Roman policy, so accurately had he calculated his vast resources, that he even fought his way to the remote capital of the Muscovites. And now many in this country despaired of Russia, as they had already despaired of Spain: my own increasing persuasion however, that *the fifth vial* was rapidly flowing, induced me from the first to look forward with much confidence to nothing but the disgrace and disaster of the French arms. The imperial tyrant had indeed rightly calculated *his own* resources; but he had strangely miscalculated the habits, and feelings, and perseverance, of *his enemy*. Moscow was destroyed: but Russia was entire. No terms were propounded to the invader, save battle or instant submission. Flight alone could offer the chance even of precarious safety: and flight, accordingly, was the measure adopted. I claim not adequately to depict the horrors of such a flight; in which Russian skill and valour were combined, for the purpose of destruction, with a Russian winter. Suffice it to say, that not a tithe of the invader's immense armament returned from the plains of Muscovy, and that he himself with difficulty accomplished his inglorious escape.

But *the vial*, destined to effect his imperial throne, was not yet exhausted. By an amazing effort, he again appeared in the spring of 1813 at the head of a numerous army. The tide of war however

" thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings " from

ever had now rolled back far to the west: and the present campaign, unlike the former, opened in the midst of Germany. But who shall strive against the determinations of heaven; who shall make void the unerring word of prophecy? A signal defeat at Leipsic awaited the long victorious emperor of the west: the baleful contents of *the fifth vial* descended in a still more copious stream upon his throne: and his whole kingdom rapidly filled with darkness and confusion.

Yet did he a second time effect his escape: yet did he safely reach the western bank of the Rhine. Even now, humanly speaking, his pursuers might have been arrested in the midst of their career: even now, a timely peace might have saved him from further degradation, might have left him a great and powerful prince. But a heaven-sent infatuation dogged his steps. The allies entered France: and at length, after vainly attempting to conduct a negociation with him, burst through every obstacle, and with their armies occupied the metropolis in the spring of *the year* 1814.

And now the decisive blow was aimed at his imperial authority, for now the stream of the avenging vial was at its height. The allies, masters of Paris, declared their readiness to treat with the French people; but peremptorily refused to negociate, either with Napoleon, or with any of his family. An armed dictation is irresistible: the French senate was compelled, by the victors, to pronounce the deposition of the imperial usurper, and to recall the almost forgotten house of Bourbon.

After such an event, if we might have judged from the general analogy of history, either death, or confinement, or complete degradation, would have been the certain lot of Napoleon. But this, apparently, did not suit with the future high purposes of heaven; nor would it have been consistent with the tenor of the prophecy: hence the passions of men were overruled; and hence we witness a hitherto unheard of political prodigy. A man of most consummate talents and of most ruthless ambition, who had seized upon the vacant throne of the oldest royal family in

" from the East might be prepared. And I saw

" three

Europe; and who had long been the scourge and the terror of all his foreign contemporaries, is yet suffered to descend in peace and safety from his giddy eminence; has a sovereign principality assigned to him; and, with an ominous prodigality of concession, is formally recognized by *all* his antagonists as *the emperor and king*. Two of the articles, signed by the ministers of Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, and countersigned by those of France, are couched in the following terms.

" Their majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa " shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their " lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, " of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, " the titles of Princes of his family.

" The isle of Elba, adopted by his majesty the Emperor Na- " poleon as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, " a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in " full sovereignty and property."

Thus at length, even in the midst of his adversity, is Napoleon acknowledged by the most sturdy of his opponents, which *alone* had never before made such a concession, to be *a true and legitimate Emperor*. If we inquire, *Of what?* I know not what answer can be given, save this: *Of the Roman empire of the West*. And in such a light, accordingly, I am inclined now to view him. The prophecy did not foretell *the complete subversion of the last head of the beast*: it only predicted, that *a vial should be poured out upon his throne which would fill his whole kingdom with darkness*. And this has been precisely the case. Just as, in the view of prophecy, Augustulus was still emperor of the West, though nothing was left to him but the city of Rome; and just as Constantine Paleologus was still emperor of the East, though cooped up by the Turks within the walls of Constantinople: so is Napoleon still the imperial representative, and now the *acknowledged* representative, of *the last head of the Roman beast*; though his whole kingdom is filled with darkness, though his throne has

been

" three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the " mouth

been directly attacked, and though his dominions are now commensurate only with a narrow island.

Under these circumstances, I suspect, that we have much greater cause for fear, than for exultation. Would we know the future fate either of this extraordinary man or at least of his dynasty, we shall find it declared with sufficient plainness under *the sixth vial* which yet remains to be poured out. In that prophecy we are taught, that, notwithstanding the temporary humiliation of *the imperial head* under *the fifth vial*, he shall appear again in full power during the effusion of *the sixth* which dries up the waters of the mystic Euphrates: for he then, apparently by means of the most subtle intrigue, contrives to recover all his former authority and to organize a mighty confederacy of *the kings of the Latin earth*. With the troops of this confederacy he is gathered to Armageddon: and there, as we are expressly assured, he will be taken and slain in strict alliance with *the false Roman prophet*. I pretend not to say, how soon such a counter-revolution will occur: neither will I presume to determine, whether it will be brought about by Napoleon himself, or by his son, or by some other military adventurer who may succeed him as *Emperor of the West*: but *this* is certainly foretold, that *the same last head of the beast*, which experiences so signal an humiliation under *the fifth vial*, shall be the sovereign lord of a great confederacy of vassal Latin kings under *the sixth*. Whence the inference is obvious, that, if *the Napoleonic Government* be *the representative of the last head*, as I believe it to be; it will assuredly rise again, more formidable than ever, from its present state of depression: though, when it *does* rise, its triumph will be only shortlived.

This not very consolatory anticipation, while the whole country is rejoicing over the supposed fall of the tyrant, may perhaps cause me to be greeted with the Homeric compellation of μαλὶ κακως: such however are the deductions, which necessarily flow from the view that I find myself compelled to take of the prophecies of Daniel and St. John. I believe, that the present

" mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of " the

present respite is an awful pause in the midst of judgment, which God vouchsafes to the nations of Europe to try whether they will repent and reform. Now of such repentance and reformation I fear we see no signs of at present: nor, in fact, does prophecy lead us to expect it. In France, an attempt is made to revive all the mummeries of Popery; while, at the same time, that reprobate country is to be indulged, for the *alleged* space of five years, with the moral luxury of the slave-trade. In Spain, the inquisition is said to be restored. And, in Italy, the Pope, to the no small triumph of his adherents, resumes his temporal and spiritual functions. Meanwhile, so far as manners are concerned, I have been informed, that the most unbridled profligacy prevails over the whole continent. Hence it may well be doubted, whether the respite, which we now enjoy, will be more than temporary. Yet, for the ultimate preservation of *this* country we may, I think, reasonably entertain even the most sanguine hopes. Pure religion certainly appears to have been upon the increase in it; and we may now behold it, in a most remarkable manner, the very focus of theological light and information. In addition to the efforts of our forefathers, societies have been laudably instituted for the purpose of offering the Gospel both to Jew and Gentile: and the stupendous endeavours of one gigantic community to convey the Scriptures in every language to every part of the globe may well deserve to be considered as an eminent sign even of *these* eventful times. Unless I be much mistaken, such endeavours are preparatory to the final grand diffusion of Christianity; which is the theme of so many inspired prophets, and which cannot be very far distant from the present day. God is ordinarily pleased to work by the instrumentality of means: and those means often bear a strict analogy to each other. Thus, as the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, before the first advent of our Lord, tended much to facilitate the preaching of the Gospel to the European and the western Asiatic Gentiles;

so

" the beast, and out of the mouth of the false pro-
" phet.

so it is not improbable, that the translation of the whole Bible into various tongues, and the general dispersion of it through so many different parts of the world, may be designed, in the course of God's Providence, to pave the way for the predicted universal diffusion of evangelical light and knowledge. Happy is it for this country, that the Almighty has united the hearts of so great a multitude in this good work. It may, though invisibly, prove a more powerful bulwark to it than all its fleets and armies.

The present state of France, if we may give credit to the accounts which we receive of it, is precisely such as is described in the remaining part of the prophecy of *the fifth vial*. We are told, that, in consequence of the calamity which befel *the imperial last head of the beast*, his adherents " gnawed their " tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven be-" cause of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their " deeds."

Exactly these feelings are said to be experienced by the French soldiery and the great body of the new military nobility. Whether they will hereafter break out into action, when the numerous prisoners of war have returned into their own country, and when the controul of a foreign force has been entirely withdrawn, time alone can positively determine. Certain it is, that both in the state and in the army, the seeds of discord, which have been abundantly sown, promise a most luxuriant crop of revolutionary confusion. With such difficulties the genius of a Henry IV. might perhaps have successfully contended: but, whether the present princes of the house of Bourbon will be able to cope with the great talents of *the Emperor*, seconded as he is reported to be by the general wishes of the army, is by no means equally clear. The very recognition of the legitimacy of his title will obviously be in itself a tower of strength to him; and I cannot but think it too plain, that, in this most impolitic concession, we may distinctly perceive,

" phet. For they are the spirits of demons, work-
" ing miracles, which go forth unto the kings of
" the earth even of the whole habitable world *,
" to gather them to the battle of that great day

ceive, that God has turned the council of the allied negociators into foolishness. Hovering like an eagle on the coast of Italy, the now *lawful* Emperor of the West will serve as a rallying point to all the discontented. No more will an obscure adventurer be placed in competition with the high-born capets: Italy and France must in future make their choice between an acknowledged regal Emperor, who may have been unfortunate, but whose exploits have been of the most dazzling nature; and a shadow of a king, who has owed his restoration, not to the choice of his subjects, but to the irresistible mandates of victorious foreign powers. In the mind of a French soldier, the return of the Bourbons will ever be inseparably coupled with the disgrace and humiliation of his country: while his warlike abdicated Emperor, every fault and every miscarriage, blotted out by the tear of pity, will be recollected only as the firm-souled warrior; who to the last contended with the invaders of France, and who ceased not to struggle for her independence even against the most fearful odds, until an intimidated senate, with an enemy at their very gates, passed, by manifest constraint, the edict of his deposal.

The next primary event, which we may expect, is the gradual downfall of the Ottoman empire by successive dismemberment, as foretold under *the ensuing vial.* July 28, 1814.

* Οικουμενη ὁλη, *the whole habitable world*, was the name by which the Romans, in the pride of universal dominion, were wont to designate their immense empire (See Mede's Works. Book iii. p. 705. and Parkhurst's Gr. Lex. Voc. οικουμενη.). Such I believe to be the meaning of the phrase here. It is added as an explanation of γη, *the earth.* The Babylonian empire is similarly called *the world* in Isaiah xiii. 11. See Bp. Lowth in loc.

of

" of God Almighty. Behold, I come as a thief. " Blessed is he, that watcheth, and keepeth his " garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his " shame. And they * gathered them together into " a place, called in the Hebrew tongue Arma- " geddon."

Under *the sixth trumpet*, the four Turkish sultanies, *the mystic waters of the Ottoman empire*, issued from *the river Euphrates*: under *the sixth vial*, the *waters of the same Euphrates* are to be dried up. We cannot therefore reasonably doubt, that *the symbolical Euphrates* means in both cases *the same power* †. *Rivers* typify *nations*: and, when

* " The verb singular συνηγαγεν agrees with the neuter " plural ἀκαθαρτα πνευματα, whose office it was (ver. 14). to col- " lect *the kings*." Archdeacon Woodhouse in loc.

† Since this was written, I have seen a paper in *the Christian Observer for January* 1805, in which *the Euphrates*, here mentioned by the prophet, is connected with *Rome*; on the ground that *the literal Euphrates* is connected with *the literal Babylon*: whence it is argued, that *the drying up of the Euphrates* implies *the impending destruction of Antichristian Rome*. Had the writer attended to the uniformity and strict exactness of the apocalyptic language, he would probably not have hazarded such a conjecture. *The mystic streams of the Euphrates under the sixth trumpet* manifestly relate to *the infancy of the Turkish empire*: *the drying up therefore of those mystic streams under the sixth vial* must relate to *its destruction*. So again: if *the Euphrates of the sixth vial* is to be connected with *Rome*, *the Euphrates of the sixth trumpet* must likewise be connected with *Rome*: for, unless we violate completely the definiteness of the whole Revelation, what *the Euphrates* means in *one* passage, it must mean in *another*. Consequently, if *the Euphrates of the sixth vial*

when *a particular river* is specified, *the nation immediately connected with that river* is obviously intended. Such being the case, as *the issuing forth of the four sultanies,* those *mystic waters of the Euphrates* which deluged the Eastern Empire, denotes *the rise of the Turkish power,* so *the drying up of those waters* must evidently denote *its subversion.*

The prelude to the pouring out of *this vial* we may behold with our own eyes. Let us only advert to the present state of *the Turkish power,* and we shall be convinced, that for several years it has gradually been upon the decline. The approaching dissolution indeed of *the Ottoman empire* is

vial be *the papal nations of the Roman empire,* or, (what the writer of this paper seems to insinuate) *the influence of the Papacy over those nations;* then we must conclude, unless we are willing to give up all consistency of language in the Apocalypse, that *the Euphrates of the sixth trumpet* means *the same;* in which case we shall at length arrive at the absurd position, that *the four Turkish sultanies* issued from *the papal nations of the Roman empire,* or that *the Turkish monarchy* originated from *the influence of the Papacy.* The fact is, as I have already abundantly shewn, *rivers* typify *nations;* and, when *a particular river* is mentioned, *the nation upon its banks* is intended. *The Euphrates therefore of the sixth trumpet* is the symbol of *the Turkish monarchy:* whence it will follow, that *the Euphrates of the sixth vial* must be *the same.* Unless this be allowed, St. John uses the *same* symbol in *different* senses, and consequently puts an entire end to all certainty of interpetation (See the beginning of Chap. ii. of the present work.). The writer of this paper seems to have taken his idea from some of the commentators cited by Pole. See Synop. in loc.

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so manifest, that even those, whose attention is solely directed to politics, are sufficiently aware that the time of its extinction cannot be very far distant. Of late it has been preserved rather by the jealousy of the great European powers, than by any physical strength of its own: and it doubtless *will be* preserved by the hand of Providence; until his own appointed season shall approach, for preparing a way for *the kings from the East*, and for gathering together *the kings of the Latin world* to the battle of the great day of God Almighty *.

As

* The reader will find some interesting remarks on the probable destiny of the Ottoman empire in Mr. Thornton's *Present State of Turkey*. p. 68—90. He observes, that "at a period "like the present, when the fate of Turkey is suspended in the "balance, when its inferiority to the nations of Europe is be- "come so evident, and surrounded as it is by powerful and "ambitious neighbours, it seems to require no supernatural "foresight to announce an approaching revolution." Yet he elsewhere thinks, that the conquest of Turkey may not be so easily achieved, as it has generally been imagined. "The *to-* "*prakly* soldiery, being untaught and undisciplined, do not "seem to merit a higher estimation than the provincial militia "of the Christian states; and, on a review of the disposeable "force of the Ottoman empire, should scarcely be taken into "account: but to an invading army they oppose a resistance "by no means to be despised. Every motive of enthusiasm, "patriotism, and private interest, confirms the aversion of the "Turks to the dominion of foreigners. In our own time, the "inhabitants of Bosnia, Albania, and Crotia, a hardy and "warlike race, have successfully defended their religion and "their country against the disciplined troops of the Emperor

of

As *the drying up of waters* is a gradual operation: so it seems natural to conclude, that the subversion

" of Germany: and the French armies in Egypt met with more
" obstinate resistance from an armed yeomanry, than they have
" since experienced in traversing the most warlike countries of
" Europe—The *ojakli*, or householders in Egypt, no less than
" the feudal proprietors, fought with valour, undiminished by
" want of success, from the ruined walls of Alexandria to the
" ancient Roman frontier of Syenè. The language of the his-
" torian (Denon's Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypt. Vol. i.
" p. 48, 223.) bears unequivocal testimony to their patriotic vir-
" tue. Alexandria was taken by storm: the besiegers left two
" hundred soldiers in the breach through which they entered:
" but of the besieged none fled, they fell with glory in the spot
" which they had failed in defending. With such an example
" before our eyes, we may be permitted to question the facility
" of subduing a people, whose country, from its very nature,
" must encourage their exertions and protect their indepen-
" dence. *The allied nations of Europe have only to march*, says
" Count Marsigli, *their greatest difficulty will be to divide the con-*
" *quered country.* But, though we now discover, since the blaze
" of the Ottoman power has subsided, that their former con-
" quests were the chastisements of divine justice for the sins of
" Christendom, and that the sultans never were and never will
" be strong in their own might: yet it perhaps still remains to
" be discovered, whether a people, who would refuse to obey
" even their sultans if they ordered them to renounce their pos-
" sessions in favour of a stranger, and whose country, from the
" difficulty of forming magazines affords no facilities to the in-
" vader; whether such a people, in spite of the acknowledged
" debility of the empire, would not give ambition cause to re-
" pent of its insatiable thirst of conquest." Ibid. p. 207—209.

I have received the same information from a gentleman, who has resided in Turkey. " That part of the Turkish empire,
" which adjoins to Austria, is inhabited by a warlike and hardy
" race

version of *the Ottoman monarchy* will not be effected by a single decisive blow but by the successive dismemberment of its provinces. Hence I am inclined to think, that, so soon as it shall be compelled to resign any portion of its territories, we may pronounce the effusion of *the sixth vial* to have commenced; for *the mystic Euphrates* will then have began to be dried up: and, agreeably to this view of the subject, as *the vial* continues to flow, *the empire* will continue to be gradually diminished until at length it is completely overturned.

1. Who *the kings from the East* are, for whom

" race of men: and, inspirited as they are by a fanatic devotion " to their religion, their chiefs, acting in unison for that object " and that object alone, have had no difficulty in preventing " the Austrian armies from advancing far into a country, where " there are no roads, where provisions are very scarce, and " where the defiles, even without opposition, would be almost " impassable—Barbarous and grossly ignorant as the Turks still " are, there are reasons for expecting that the bravest and best " disciplined armies might fail, if they entangled themselves in " a country where it is possible that modern tactics might afford " no resource—The Turks are indeed, when acting separately " or in small bodies, as brave and as likely to be successful as " any troops whatever: and, if our hopes of Spain are chiefly to " depend upon the inaccessible nature of the country, there " would, I think, as things now are, be still greater reason to " expect, that for the conquest and overthrow of Turkey more " than human means would be required."

The event alone can determine what force there may be in these conjectures: yet, if I be right in supposing *the* 1260 *years* to expire in *the year* 1866, it is not impossible that the ruin of *the Ottoman empire* may not take place quite immediately, whatever plans there may be in agitation against it. Oct. 1808.

a way

a way is prepared by the subversion of *the Turkish empire*, we cannot *positively* say before the event takes place. The most probable *conjecture** is, that *the lost ten tribes of Israel* are intended. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that precisely at the present era; an era marked so strongly by the signs of the times, as to give us every reason to believe, that we are living in the predicted *last days* of Antichristian blasphemy, and that *the* 1260 *years* are rapidly drawing near to their termination: it is, I say, a remarkable circumstance, that, at this very era, a people should begin to attract our notice in the East Indies; which appear to be a fragment, either of *the lost ten tribes*, or of *the Jews* that never returned from the Babylonian captivity. The late Mr. Vansittart was the first, I believe, who brought forward to public notice the traditions of *the Afghans* or *Rohillas*. Having met with a Persian abridgment of the *Asrarul Afaghinah*, or *the secrets of the Afghans*, he was induced to translate it, and to

* Though I think it right to call this only *a conjecture*, yet it is a conjecture that amounts to little less than *absolute certainty*. St. John, Isaiah, and Zechariah, all speak of *the Euphrates* being dried up in the latter ages: according to the former, that a way be prepared for *the kings from the East*; according to the two latter, that there may be a highway from Assyria for *the remnant of God's people* through the deeps of the exhausted river. It seems therefore almost necessary to conclude, that *the kings from the East* are *the remnant of God's people now returning from the eastern region of Assyria* into the land of their fathers. See this point discussed in my work on *the restoration of Israel*. Comment. on Prophecy V. and XXXIX.

transmit

transmit it to Sir William Jones then president of the Asiatic Society; who subjoined the following note to it: "This account of *the Afghans* may lead "to a very interesting discovery. We learn from "Esdras, that *the ten tribes*, after a wandering "journey, came to a country called *Arsareth*; "where we may suppose they settled *. Now *the* "*Afghans* are said, by the best Persian historians, "to be descended from *the Jews;* they have tradi- "tions among themselves of such a descent; and it "is even asserted, that their families are distin- "guished by the names of Jewish tribes, although, "since their conversion to *the Islam*, they studi- "ously conceal their origin. The *Pushto* language, "of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest "resemblance to the *Chaldaic;* and a considerable "district under their dominion is called *Hazareh* "or *Hazaret*, which might easily have been changed "into the word used by Esdras. I strongly recom- "mend an inquiry into the literature and history of "*the Afghans*†."

From this interesting note of that great linguist we learn four very curious particulars, relative to *the Afghans:* 1. That they have a tradition among themselves, that they are of Jewish origin, although not very forward to acknowledge their descent; 2. That this is not a mere vague tradition, known only to themselves and ridiculed by their neighbours, but

* 2 Esdras xiii. 40—47.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. numb. 4.

that

that the best Persian historians, with whose empire they have always been connected, assert the very same; 3. That a considerable district under their dominion is to this day called *Hazaret*, a word nearly resembling *Arsareth*, which (according to the apocryphal Esdras, whoever he might be, and at whatever period he might live) was the name of the country into which *the ten tribes* retired; 4. And that their language has a manifest resemblance to the *Chaldaic*.

Before I entirely quit this part of my subject, I shall notice a coincidence, which is at least curious, if it deserve no better name. Mr. Mede conjectures, that *the kings*, for whom the exhaustion of *the mystic Euphrates* is to prepare a way, are *the Jews*. Had he said *Israelites* throughout, as he does at first, he would perhaps have expressed himself with greater accuracy: for, if the passage do at all allude to *the restoration of the house of Jacob*, it relates more probably to *the ten tribes* than to *Judah*. But why should either the *Israelites* or *the Jews* be styled *kings?* Such a title accords very ill with the present condition of *the Jews*, and still worse with that of *the Israelites*, if they be so entirely lost and swallowed up, as some have imagined. Mr. Mede does not attempt to solve this difficulty. If however it should eventually prove that *the Afghans* are *really* the remains of *the ten tribes*, and if St. John speak of the restoration of those *ten tribes* under the name of *kings from the East;* we shall immediately perceive the singularly exact propriety,

with

with which he styles them *kings*. The whole race of *the Afghans* denominate themselves even to the present day, in their Chaldaic dialect, *Melic* or with the plural termination *Melchim*, in English, *Kings*. They consider themselves as a royal nation; and, according to their own tradition, claim their proud title of *Melic* from a grant of Mohammed, whose religion they profess. If then they *be* of Hebrew extraction, *the drying up of the mystic Euphrates*, or *the subversion of the Ottoman empire*, would undoubtedly prepare a way for them both literally and morally. A power would be removed, whose dominions now stretch between Persia and Palestine; and one great branch of that false religion, by which *the Afghans* are at present deluded, would be broken off. According to Mr. Vansittart, the sects of *the Afghans* are very numerous; and they appear to be a nation formidable at once for its population and its bravery *.

2. While *the Ottoman power* is falling to pieces, in order that by its removal a way may be prepared for *the kings from the East*, three unclean spirits, which are said to proceed out of the mouths of *the dragon* and *the beast* and *the false prophet*, will be actively, though imperceptibly, employed in gathering together the kings of the whole *Ecumenè*, or *Roman world*, to the battle of the great day of God

* The reader will find this matter more fully discussed in my work on *the restoration of the house of Israel and the overthrow of Antichrist*.

Almighty. The battle itself is evidently that, which takes place under *the last vial*, and which is described with wonderful sublimity by the inspired prophet. *Here* the dreadful preparations for it commence: *there* they are completed, and the battle is fought In the professed account of the battle, which St. John hereafter gives at large, no mention is made of *the dragon* or *the devil;* because, however powerful, he is an *invisible* agent: but, agreeably to what we might expect from the declared joint promoters of the confederacy, *the beast under his last or Carlovingian head*, attended by *the false Romish prophet*, is described as being its chief or sovereign *. From this circumstance it is evident, that the Latin power, which shall then be the representative of *the last bestial head*, will have completely recovered from the calamity, which is said to befall it under *the fifth vial*. For *then* the very throne of *the beast* is directly attacked; and *that* too with such success, that his whole kingdom is filled with darkness: but *now* we find him again as paramount as ever, restored to all his ancient authority, and acting as the sovereign prince of a confederacy formed by himself and comprehending all the kings of the Roman world.

I know not, that we are any way bound to suppose that *three literal friends* are meant by *the three unclean spirits like frogs:* if it be allowable to offer a conjecture respecting a yet unaccomplished pro-

* Compare Rev. xvi. 13—16. with Rev. xix. 18—20.

phecy,

phecy, I would rather conceive that they are designed to symbolize *a subtle Machiavelian scheme of political intrigue.* We are taught, that of it, as of all other evil, the infernal tempter is the prime contriver and instigator: but we seem to be likewise taught, that the *visible* agents in the business will be *the then Carlovingian head of the beast* and *the false Romish prophet.* If this view of the matter be not erroneous, we shall be led to conclude from it, that the power, which *the beast* had lost under *the fifth vial* by the successful attack upon his throne, will be regained by some deep-laid plan of foul intrigue, which the coöperation of *the false prophet* will greatly tend to promote.

Be this as it may, the scheme, of whatever nature, will for a season be eminently prosperous. *The beast* will recover all his lost strength and influence; and will even contrive to put himself at the head of a mighty confederacy of princes. When this is effected, he will meditate, in conjunction with *the false prophet,* some grand expedition against *the woman* and *the remnant of her seed;* which however, as we shall presently see under *the next vial,* will end only in their own confusion and utter destruction.

The congregated kings, we are told, are to be gathered together to *Armageddon:* and their overthrow, being accomplished under *the seventh vial,* is of course accomplished *at the close of the* 1260 *years* or *during the time of the end.* But, at this identical period, as we learn from Daniel, *Antichrist* or *the infidel king* will head a grand expedi-

tion into Palestine. Such being the case, it is almost impossible not to conclude, that the expedition of *the Infidel king* into Palestine is the very same, as the expedition of *the Roman beast under his last head* to Armageddon. Hence it will obviously follow, that, at the epoch of this attempt, *the last head of the beast* will be identified with *the Infidel king;* or, in other words, that *the Carlovingian Emperorship of the West* will have passed away from Germany and have been transferred to France, as heretofore it passed away from France and was tranferred to Germany *. Consequently, should *the revolutionary government of France* have become *the Carlovingian head* before the effusion of *the fifth vial*, it will be destined to undergo the calamity foretold as taking place under *that vial:* but then it will be likewise destined both to recover from the effects of it, and to organize a mighty confederacy of the Latin kings, previous to its final destruction at Armageddon in Palestine †.

* This conclusion is discussed more at large below, Sect. iii. § I. 4. (4.)

† I have already stated, that the Emperor of the French has now, by the cession of Austria, become the manifest representative of *the last or Carlovingian head of the Roman beast.* Vide supra note *.

SECTION III.

Concerning the vial of the vintage.

We are now arrived at *the vial of consummation*, which Mr. Mede very justly supposes to synchronize with *the vintage*. The reason is manifest: *the vintage* is the last event predicted in *the little book*, which extends, as itself repeatedly declares, through *the whole* 1260 *years;* and *the last vial* is poured out at the expiration of that period: consequently *the last vial* can only contain an enlarged account of *the vintage:* for, as Mr. Mede naturally observes, there cannot be *two* different catastrophès of the *same* drama *.

" And the seventh angel poured out his vial into " the air: and there came a great voice out of the " temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is " done. And there were voices, and thunders, and " lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, " such as was not since men were upon the earth, " so mighty an earthquake and so great. And the " great city was divided into three parts; and the " cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon " came in remembrance before God, to give unto

* See Mede's Comment. Apoc. in Vindemiam.

" her

" her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his " wrath. And every island fled away, and the " mountains were not found. And there fell upon " men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about " the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God " because of the plague of the hail: for the plague " thereof was exceeding great."

I. Bp. Newton very justly observes, that, "as *the* " *seventh seal*, and *the seventh trumpet*, contained " many more particulars, than any of *the former* " *seals*, and *former trumpets*: so *the seventh vial* " contains more than any of *the former vials*." It is *the vial of the vintage*; the conclusion of *the grand drama of* 1260 *years*; the *time of the end*. When it shall be poured out, the great controversy of God with the nations will commence; his ancient people will begin to be restored; and the sentence of destruction will go forth against *the beast* and *the false prophet*, even while they are in the very midst of their temporary success, and while they are vainly flattering themselves with the hope of a complete victory over the Church of God. Such being its contents, it is said to be poured out into *the air*, in allusion to the dreadful *storms* of political *thunder* and *lightning* which it will produce *.

Four important events are comprehended under it: *the earthquake*, by which *the great city* is divided into three parts; *the symbolical storm of hail*; *the overthrow of Babylon*; and *the battle of Arma-*

* See Chap. ii. § II. 1.

geddon,

geddon, to which *the kings of the earth* had begun to gather themselves together under *the preceding vial*.

Here it may be proper to remind the reader, that *the seventeenth, eighteenth*, and *nineteenth, chapters* of the Apocalypse, all belong to *the last vial*; and are in fact only a more enlarged account of some of the most prominent events contained by it*—*The seventeenth chapter* opens with a description of *the great scarlet whore*, who had long tyrannized over the faithful, and who was now about to be destroyed for ever. It fully sets forth the mystery of her union with *her beast*, of her name *Babylon*, of the three-fold state of her *beast*, of the rise of *the beast's last head*, and of the flourishing condition of *the woman* while *the ten kings gave* their power to *the beast* and made war upon the Lamb by persecuting his disciples. And it intimates that a great change should nevertheless take place in the sentiments of *those kings*, so that they should afterwards hate *the whore*, and make her naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. This intimation seems to be given as it were by the way, and must not therefore be confined merely to the days of *the last vial*. It is in fact a sort of climax, extending from the era of *the Reformation* down to the final destruction of *the whore*. She was first made naked and desolate by the alienation of the Abbey lands in protestant countries, and by the withdrawing of whole nations from her communion. Her very flesh was next

* See Chap. i. § IV. 5. (2).

eaten

eaten by the sale of the Church lands in revolutionary France, and by the secularization of the German ecclesiastical electorates and monastic principalities. But she will not be utterly burnt with fire till *the time of the end*, till the fatal day of *Armageddon* *. The ten kings however, as Bp. Newton rightly observes, cannot literally mean *all* the ten kings, but only *a certain part* of them: for, though events have shewn that nearly all the Popish princes have been concerned in *devouring the flesh of the whore*, another prophecy teaches us, that those, who still remain in her communion, will pe-

* In the same battle with *the little horn* or *the harlot* the *Roman beast under his last head* will perish. "I beheld then because "of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I be"held, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and "given to the burning flame" (Dan. vii. 11.). I apprehend, that the explanatory words of the angel addressed to Daniel mean precisely the same as the particular passage in the Apocalypse now under consideration. "The judgment shall sit, and they "shall take away his dominion, by consuming and destroying "it unto the end" (Dan. vii. 26.). The dominion of *the horn* began to be taken away at the Reformation, when some of the kings withdrew their realms from the spiritual jurisdiction of *the Pope*; but it will not be *entirely destroyed* until the judgment shall sit at the close of *the* 1260 *years* (Compare Dan. vii. 9, 10, 11. with Ver. 25, 26, 27.). Yet the work of its destruction is to commence *before* their close, because its dominion is to be gradually taken away by consuming it *unto the end*, or *unto the time of the end*; that is, *unto that short intervening period which commences at the close of the* 1260 *years*. Accordingly, we learn from history, that its dominion *began* to be taken away at the era of the Reformation, when few can suppose *the* 1260 *years* to have expired, or the judgment to have begun to sit.

rish

rish leagued with *the beast* and fighting in her cause *: consequently, not these, but such as have renounced her abominations, must be those who are instrumental in *finally burning her with fire*—*The eighteenth chapter* contains an account of *the total overthrow of Babylon*—And *the nineteenth chapter* describes *the battle of Armageddon.*

1. *The earthquake,* by which *the great city* is divided into *three parts,* manifestly signifies, according to the usual import of prophetic language, *some very great revolution;* by which *the Latin Empire* shall be divided, either into *three sovereignties,* or into *three prefectures* like *the ancient Roman empire.* What the precise meaning of this prediction is, and how *the city* will be divided into three parts, time alone can discover †.

2. *The hailstorm* seems to denote *some northern invasion of the Roman empire.* Since *the northern incursions of the Gothic nations* under *the first*

* Rev. xix. 19.

† Mr. Kett imagines that *the earthquake,* by which *the great city* was divided into three parts, is *the Reformation;* and that *the three parts,* intended by the prophet, are *the three confessions* (as they are called) *Popish, Lutheran,* and *Calvinistic* (vol. 1. p. 413.). We cannot however admit *this earthquake* to have any connection with that important period, unless by a palpable violation of St. John's prophetic chronology. *The earthquake* which divides *the city* into three parts, takes place under *the last vial:* whereas *the reformation* is contemporary with *the war of the beast against the witnesses,* and happened under *the sixth trumpet,* before *any one* of *all the seven vials* was poured out. Mr. Kett, as if conscious that this objection would be made to his scheme, endeavours to invalidate it; but, I think, unsuccessfully.

trumpet

trumpet are typified by *a storm of hail*, it is only natural to conclude from analogy, that *the hail-storm* of *the seventh vial*, which synchronizes with *the time of the end* and consequently with *the wars of Antichrist and the king of the North*, likewise typyfies *a northern invasion*. Hence, when the period of this *hailstorm* is considered, we may perhaps conjecture, that, during the absence of *Antichrist* on account of his eastern expedition, the mighty *king of the North*, baffled in his attempt to arrest his progress *, will invade and desolate *the western Roman empire* †. It is almost superfluous to observe that I wish this to be esteemed a *mere* conjecture.

3. *The fall of the spiritual Babylon*, described at large in *the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalypse*, is the same as *the destruction of the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast*: they both equally relate to *the complete subversion of the Papacy*. This is not to

* Dan. xi. 40—45.

† Mr. Butt literalizes the symbolical prophecy contained in Rev. xvi. 19, 20, 21, in the following manner:

19. "And the great nation and empire was divided into three "portions, and the communities of the Christian Gentiles were "revolutionized, and catholic Babylon came in remembrance "before God to give unto her the cup of crucifixion and ex-"treme wrath.

20. "And every little state was revolutionized, and the king-"doms were levelled, the foundations of the great city annihi-"lated.

21. "And great northern armies are caused to descend by the "Church and fall upon citizens: and the citizens blasphemed "God for the plague of the northern armies, for it was inex-"pressibly heavy and dreadful." Notes on Rev. part iii. p. 24.

take

take place, till after the end of *the* 1260 *years**; when *the witnesses* shall have ceased to prophesy in sackcloth, and when in one apocalyptic season *the judgment of Babylon* is come.

4. Exactly contemporary with *the fall of the spiritual Babylon*, or *the adulterous church of Rome*, will be *the overthrow of its supporter the secular Babylon*, or *the ten-horned Roman beast*†. The power of both will be broken in *the same battle of Armageddon*. This is abundantly manifest from the concurring testimony both of Daniel and St. John. We learn from the former of these prophets, that *the last* or *Roman beast* is to be slain, and his body to be destroyed and given to the burning flame, because of the voice of the great words which *his little horn* spake; and that the reign of *this little horn* is exactly to continue 1260 *years*. We learn from the latter of them, that the same *ten-horned Roman beast* is to practise prosperously, in his revived or idolatrous state, the very same period of 42 *months or* 1260 *years*; and that he is to be destroyed, along with his colleague *the false prophet* or *two-horned beast*, in their last great battle against *the Word of God*. Now *the two-horned beast* or *false prophet* is *the same ecclesiastical power*

* Probably at the end of 30 *years* after that period, or at the end of Daniel's 1290 *years*.

† I have already stated that *Babylon* means *the whole Roman Empire* both *temporal* and *spiritual*: *the temporal Babylon* being the same as *the ten-horned beast*; and *the spiritual Babylon*, as *the two-horned beast*.

as *the harlot* or *spiritual Babylon:* consequently, if *the spiritual Babylon* were fallen *before* this battle, it is evident that *the false prophet* could not, along with *the temporal beast,* have been engaged *in* it. Hence it appears, that *the fall of the spiritual Babylon* and *the battle of Armageddon,* will be precisely contemporary; both taking place together after the termination of *the* 1260 *years**.

(1.) As for *the battle of Armageddon,* in which *the beast* and *the false prophet* are to be overthrown, I take it to be the concluding event of *the time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation,* mentioned by Daniel. It is the same likewise as *the dreadful slaughter of the Gentiles in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem,* predicted in such forcible terms by Zechariah and Joel. This will sufficiently appear from comparing, as I shall presently do, all these different prophecies together. At *the close of the time of trouble* foretold by Daniel, *the infidel*

* Mr. Mede separates *the fall of Babylon* from *the overthrow of the false prophet,* and imagines that in point of time it will precede it. This opinion is built upon the idea, that Babylon is *the literal city* of Rome, instead of *the whole papal empire.* I cannot think, that it is by any means well founded, or that it at all harmonizes with the general language of the Apocalypse, in which *the great city* universally means, not *the literal city,* but *the empire of Rome.* This being the case, whenever *the beast* and *the false prophet* are routed at Armageddon, *the temporal and spiritual Roman empire,* or *the mystic Babylon,* will be overthrown. Mr. Mede places *the fall of Babylon* under *the fifth vial,* and *the destruction of the beast and the false prophet* under *the last.* Comment. Apoc. in Phial. v. et vii.

king

king is to come to his end, none helping him; and at *the beginning of the time of trouble*, which synchronizes with *the first effusion of the seventh vial* and with *the termination of the* 1260 *years*, the *restoration of the Jews* is to commence. At the period of *the great battle of the nations*, described by Zechariah and Joel, which synchronizes with *the destruction of the infidel king* and *the battle of Armageddon*, the *Jews* are represented as having been brought back to their own country. While, in *the battle of Armageddon*, predicted by St. John, which I apprehend to be the last event under *the seventh vial, the beast, the false prophet*, and *the kings of the Latin earth*, are to be completely routed with dreadful slaughter by the Almighty *Word of God;* and an end is for ever to be put to their tyrannical and persecuting domination over *the Church.*

(2.) *The beast*, who is to take so active a part in this last great struggle, is *the same septimo-octave head* as that, which St. John had before identified even with *the whole beast himself**. To *which horn of the beast* the dignity of *the Carlovingian Emperorship of the western Roman world* will *then* be attached, it is impossible to determine before the event. Humanly speaking, it seems upon the eve of quitting for ever *the horn of Austria.* Should this be the case, and should it once more revert to *France* along with *the old Carlovingian sovereignty*

* Rev. xvii. 11.

of

of Italy; the *infidel king*, at the close of *the great apostatic drama*, would be identified with *the last head of the beast**. As for *the false prophet*, who is to be one of his allies in this impious war, we have already beheld a political reconciliation, or, as it is styled, *a concordat* between *him* and *Antichrist* †: the contrariety therefore of *Infidelity* to *Popery* will be no impediment to the accomplishment of the prophecy, that *the beast* and *the false prophet* shall be taken banded in arms together. And, with regard to the possibility of uniting all the Popish powers in one common confederacy, the growing influence of *papistico-infidel France*, and the ease with which she compels the surrounding vassal states to take up arms in her cause, sufficiently shew, even without the aid of prophecy, that such an union is not only *possible*, but *probable*.

(3.) *The preceding vial* testifies, that, after this *confederacy* has been formed by the secret agency

* Since this was written in *the year* 1804, the Carlovingian sovereignty of Italy *has* reverted to France. May, 1805.

And I may now add, that yet more recently *the Carlovingian Emperorship of the West* has been transferred to France; consequently *the Infidel king* and *the last head of the beast* are now identified. June 5, 1806.

† It may be observed, that Bp. Newton here again considers *the beast*, not as *the Papacy*, but as *the temporal Latin empire*; while he justly conceives *the false prophet* to mean *the ecclesiastical power of the Pope*. "These enemies are *the beast* and *the* "*false prophet*, the Antichristian powers *civil* and *ecclesiastical*, "with their armies gathered together, their adherents and fol- "lowers combined and determined to support idolatry, and to "oppose all reformation." Dissert. on Rev. xix.

of

of what are termed *three unclean spirits*, it will be gathered together to *Armageddon*, subsequently to the downfall of the *Ottoman empire:* and there is every reason to believe, that it will be directed against *the converted Jews* and *the prevailing protestant maritime power of the day*, under the auspices of which they will begin to be restored. *The* 1260 *years* however do not appear as yet to have expired *, nor *the time of the end* to have arrived. Few probably of the present generation will live to behold even *the beginning of the restoration of the Jews*, and *the commencement of the Antichristian expedition to Palestine;* still less therefore *the dreadful confusion of Armageddon*, with which that *expedition* terminates †. Whether at this period *the infidel king* is, or is not, to have become, like his predecessor Charlemagne, *the last head of the beast*, who shall venture *now* to determine ‡? *This* at least is

* My reasons for holding this opinion are stated very much at large, both in Chap. i. § IV. 2. 3. (1.) (2.) (3.), and in my answer to Mr. Bicheno, who thinks that *the* 1260 *years* have already expired. After examining the subject with as much care and attention as I am able, I cannot refrain from thinking that he is mistaken. A few years however will decide between us. Nov. 23, 1807.

† I speak of course on the supposition that I am right in my date of *the* 1260 *years*. Should I be so mistaken as that they terminate *earlier* than I apprehended, the events of *the last vial* and of Daniel's *time of unexampled trouble* will of course happen *so much earlier*.

‡ Buonaparté affects, upon all occasions, to ape the style and dignity of Charlemagne: and no moderation of character, which he

is certain, that he will be a very principal actor in "the time of trouble such as never was since there "was a nation."

(4.) As I have more than once hinted at the probability of *the last head of the beast*, or *the Gothic Patricio-Emperorship of the Romans*, becoming at *the time of the end* attached to *the horn of France*, as it heretofore was in the days of Charlemagne; I shall here simply state the declarations of concurring prophecies relative to this subject, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Daniel predicts, that, at *the time of the end* or *the close of the* 1260 *years*, *the infidel king* shall engage in *a war of extermination under the pretext of religion*; that, in the prosecution of this nefarious project, he shall invade *Palestine*, and occupy *the glorious holy mountain*; but that eventually he shall perish between *the two seas*, namely *the Dead sea* and *the Mediterranean sea*. The prophet, absorbed as it were in contemplating the vast power of this impious monster, does not notice any *confederates* with whom he might be leagued; but speaks merely of *the king himself*, as being the very life and soul of

he has *yet* displayed, gives us any reason to doubt that he wishes to tread in the steps of that ambitious conqueror. It is almost superfluous to remind the reader, that *the infidel king* is not *the individual Buonapartè* nor *any other individual* but *the infidel kingdom* or *power of France*.

I have already stated, that *the infidel king* may now be considered as identified with *the Carlovingian head of the beast*. June 5, 1806.

the

the whole expedition, as being peculiarly both its contriver and executor.

Such is the prediction of Daniel. In a similar manner, St. John declares, that, under *the last vial*, and consequently after *the close of the same* 1260 *years, a grand confederacy* of *the beast, the false prophet*, and *the kings of the Latin earth*, shall be utterly overthrown at *Megiddo**, which is a town situated between *the two seas* of *Palestine;* and that *the wine-press of the vintage* shall be trodden in a region extending 1600 *furlongs*, which is the exact measure of *the Holy land.*

Thus it appears, that, as Daniel's *infidel king* is to be the grand projector and manager of *a religious war*, and is to perish in *Palestine* between *the two seas* after *the close of the* 1260 *years;* so *the apocalyptic beast*, that is to say *the beast under his last head*, is likewise, as it appears from his union with *the false prophet*, to be the main promoter and manager of a *religious war;* which, precisely like *the religious war* of *the infidel king*, is to take place after *the close of the* 1200 *years*, and is to be decided in *Palestine* or *the land which extends* 1600 *furlongs*, and at *Megiddo* a town of that land which is situated *between the seas.*

So exact a correspondence both of *time, place*, and *circumstance*, evidently shews, that *the war of the infidel king* is the same as *the war of the beast and the false prophet:* and, from Daniel's predic-

* *Armageddon* signifies *the destruction of Megiddo.*

tion, we can scarcely consider *the king* only as an *inferior* actor, only as one of the *subordinate* kings represented by St. John as leagued with *the beast.* The conclusion to be drawn from these premises I leave to the cautious reader *.

(5.) To return from this digression: if I be right in thinking, that *the gathering together of the kings of the Latin earth to the battle of Armageddon* is *an expedition of a confederacy of popish infidels against the converted Jews supported by some great protestant maritime nation*; the opinion, that

* The first edition of this Work was published just as the intelligence of the fatally decisive battle of *Austerlitz* arrived. The rumours of a directly opposite purport, that prevailed while the last sheets were printing, had led me to conclude that the time was not yet arrived when *the wilful tyrant* should be identified with *the Carlovingian head of the beast*; for, though I certainly expected for the reasons assigned above that sooner or later that time *would* arrive, I had no warrant from prophecy to say *when* it would arrive. At length we received intelligence of the disastrous issue of a campaign, which has made the atrocious wretch, whom I doubt not to be an instrument of vengeance in the hand of a justly offended God, the *undisputed representative of Charlemagne*, the *uncontrouled Emperor of the western Roman world.* Till this period *the chief of the house of Austria* was *the representative of Charlemagne*; but his influence is now annihilated in *Germany*, and he is totally driven out of every part of *Italy.* Dispossessed even of a considerable part of his hereditary dominions, he seems tacitly to have resigned his ancient title, now to him nothing but a title, and to have assumed instead of it that of *Emperor* (which in his case is virtually the same as only *King*) *of Austria.* June 5, 1806.

As I have already observed, he has now resigned his ancient title of *Emperor of the Romans.* Nov. 23, 1807.

the

the witnesses will not be subjected to the horrors of some future persecution, receives a most abundant confirmation *. *The beast* and *the false prophet* indeed shall surely gather their forces together, but not by the Lord: for no weapon, hereafter formed against the Gospel, shall prosper; and whosoever shall gather together against it shall fall. *The* 1260 *years* of oppression will then have elapsed; and the great controversy of Jehovah with his enemies will then have commenced. Every project of *the beast*, *the false prophet*, and *the congregated kings*, will be baffled: and sudden destruction will come upon them unawares as a thief in the night. Through the aid of the great captain of their salvation, those, who have come out of *Babylon*, shall be completely victorious; and the united tyranny of *Popery* and *Atheism* shall for ever be destroyed.

II. Having now briefly considered *the four grand events* comprehended under *the last vial*; namely *the division of the great city into three parts*, *the storm of hail*, *the fall of the spiritual Babylon*, and *the battle of Armageddon:* I shall bring together into one point of view the four prophecies of St. John, Daniel, Zechariah, and Joel, relative to the awful events with which *the* 1260 *years* will conclude; in order that, by comparing them with each other, a yet stronger light may be thrown upon

* At least it receives confirmation, so far as protestant *countries* are confirmed; though *the two witnesses*, scattered through popish regions, will continue to prophesy in sackcloth to *the time of the end*. This distinction I have already stated very fully.

this period, which is destined to witness not only *the overthrow of the Antichristian faction* but likewise *the restoration of the Jews.*

1. "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a "white horse; and he, that sat upon him, was "called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he "doth judge and make war. And his eyes were as "a flame of fire, and on his head were many "crowns; and he had a name written, that no "man knew but he himself. And he was clothed "with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is "called THE WORD OF GOD. And the armies, "which were in heaven, followed him upon white "horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that "with it he should smite the nations; and he shall "rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth "the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of "Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture and "on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS "AND LORD OF LORDS. And I saw an angel "standing in the sun: and he cried with a loud "voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the "midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves "together unto the supper of the great God; "that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the "flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, "and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit "on them, and the flesh of all men, both free "and bond, both small and great. And I saw "the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their

" armies, gathered together to make war against " him that sat on the horse, and against his army. " And the beast was taken, and with him the false " prophet that wrought miracles before him, with " which he deceived them that had received the " mark of the beast, and them that worshipped " his image. These both were cast alive into a " lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the " remnant were slain with the sword of him that " sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out " of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with " their flesh *."

2. " I beheld, till the thrones were set, and the " Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was " white as snow, and the hair of his head like the " pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, " and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream " issued, and came forth, from before him: thou- " sand thousands ministered unto him, and ten " thousand times ten thousand stood before him: " the judgment was set, and the books were open- " ed. I beheld then because of the voice of the " great words which the *little* horn spake: I be- " held, even till the beast was slain, and his body " destroyed, and given to the burning flame—The " little horn shall wear out the saints of the Most " High;—and they shall be given into his hand " until a time, and times, and the dividing of a " time. But the judgment shall sit; and they shall

* Rev. xix. 11—21.

" take

" take away his dominion, by consuming and de-
" stroying it unto the end. And the kingdom, and
" dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom un-
" der the whole heaven, shall be given to the peo-
" ple of the saints of the Most High, whose king-
" dom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions
" shall serve and obey him."

" And a king shall do according to his will:—
" And at the time of the end a king of the south
" shall butt at him; and a king of the north shall
" come against him like a whirlwind with chariots,
" and with horsemen, and many ships. Yet he
" shall enter into the countries, and shall over-
" flow, and pass over, and shall enter into the glo-
" rious land, and many countries shall be over-
" thrown: but these shall escape out of his hand,
" even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the chil-
" dren of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand
" also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt
" shall not escape. But he shall have power over
" the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the
" precious things of Egypt: and the Lubim and
" the Cushim shall be at his steps. But tidings out
" of the east and out of the north shall trouble
" him: there ore he shall go forth with great fury
" to destroy, and to devote many to utter destruc-
" tion under the pretext of religion. And he shall
" plant the curtains of his pavilions between the
" seas in the glorious holy mountain: yet he shall
" come to his end and none shall help him. And
" at that time shall Michael stand up, the great

" prince

" prince which standeth for the children of thy " people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such " as never was since there was a nation even to " that same time: and at that time thy people shall " be delivered, every one that shall be found writ- " ten in the book *."

5. " Behold, I will make Jerusalem a cup of " trembling unto all the people round about, even " when they shall be against Judah, in the siege " against Jerusalem. Even in that day will I make " Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all people: " all, that burden themselves with it, shall be cut " in pieces, though all the people of the earth be " gathered together against it. In that day, saith " the Lord, I will smite every horse with astonish- " ment, and his rider with madness: and I will " open mine eyes upon the house of Judah, and " will smite every horse of the people with blind- " ness. And the governors of Judah shall say in " their heart, The inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be " my strength in the Lord of hosts their God. In " that day will I make the governors of Judah like " an hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch " of fire in a sheaf; and they shall devour all the " people round about, on the right hand and on the " left: and Jerusalem shall be inhabited again in " her own place, even in Jerusalem. The Lord " also shall save the tents of Judah first, that the " glory of the house of David, and the glory of the

* Dan. vii. xi. xii.

" inhabitants

" inhabitants of Jerusalem do not magnify themselves against Judah. In that day shall the " Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and " he, that is feeble among them, at that day shall " be as David; and the house of David shall be as " God, as the angel Jehovah before them. And " it shall come to pass in that day, that I will seek " to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the " spirit of grace and of supplications: and they " shall look upon him whom they have pierced, and " they shall mourn for him, as one that mourneth " for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for " him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born. " In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of the vintage shouting " of Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon. And the " land shall mourn every family apart—All the families that remain, every family apart, and their " wives apart. In that day there shall be a fountain " opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness— " In that day shall there be upon the bells of the " horses, Holiness unto the Lord; and the pots in " the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before " the altar. Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in " Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of hosts; " and all they, that sacrifice, shall come and take of " them, and seethe therein: and in that day there

" shall

" shall be no more a trafficker in the house of the " Lord of hosts *."

4. " Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an " alarm in my holy mountain: let all the inhabi- " tants of the land tremble: for the day of the Lord " cometh, for it is nigh at hand: a day of darkness, " and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick " darkness, as the morning spread upon the moun- " tains: a great people and a strong; there hath " not been ever the like, neither shall there be any " more after it, even to the years of many genera- " tions †. A fire devoureth before them; and be-

* Zechar. xii. xiii. xiv.

† I apprehend, that by this expression we must understand *the last attempt of Satan against the Lamb at the close of the Millennium*; when, after " the years of many generations" subsequent to the outrages of " the great and strong people" here predicted, he shall stir up from the four quarters of the earth the nations styled by St. John *Gog and Magog*. Meanwhile, during the millennian rest, there shall be none like that strong people, till the years of its many generations shall have fully elapsed. The *Gog and Magog*, mentioned by St. John, are evidently the same as the *Gog and Magog* predicted by Ezekiel. The expedition of *these nations* against Palestine bears *a strong resemblance* in many points to the expedition of *the infidel king* and *the false prophet*. Yet it certainly cannot be *the same*, both because St. John informs us that it shall take place at *the end of the Millennium*; and because Ezekiel, in strict correspondence with him, asserts that it shall be directed against the Jews so long after their restoration to their own land, that they should be *dwelling there in all the confidence of unsuspecting security* (See Ezek. xxxviii. 8, 11, 12, 14.). *The war of Gog and Magog* is fully discussed in my Work on *the Restoration of Israel* and *the overthrow of Antichrist*.

" hind

" hind them a flame burneth: the land is as the
" garden of Eden before them, and behind them a
" desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape
" them—Before their faces the people shall be much
" pained: all faces shall gather blackness—They
" shall run to and fro in the city: they shall run
" upon the wall; they shall climb up upon the
" houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a
" thief. The earth shall quake before them: the
" heavens shall tremble: the sun and moon shall
" be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their
" shining. And the Lord shall utter his voice be-
" fore his army: for his camp is very great: for he
" is strong, that executeth his word: for the day of
" the Lord is great and very terrible; and who
" can abide it?—Then will the Lord be jealous for
" his land, and pity his people. Yea, the Lord
" will answer, and say unto his people, Behold, I
" will send you corn, and wine, and oil; and ye
" shall be satisfied therewith: and I will no more
" make you a reproach among the heathen. But
" I will remove far off from you the northern one,
" and will drive him into a land *made by his ravages*
" barren and desolate, with his face toward the east
" sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea;
" and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour
" shall come up, because he hath done great things
" —Be glad then ye children of Zion, and rejoice
" in the Lord your God—And ye shall know that I
" am in the midst of Israel, and that I am the Lord
" your God, and none else; and my people shall
" never

" never be ashamed. And it shall come to pass
" afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all
" flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall
" prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your
" young men shall see visions*. And I will shew
" wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood,
" and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be
" turned into darkness, and the moon into blood,
" before the great and the terrible day of the Lord
" come. And it shall come to pass, that, whoso-
" ever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be
" delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem
" shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and
" in the remnant whom the Lord shall call. For,
" behold, in those days, and at that time, when I
" shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jeru-
" salem, I will also gather all the nations, and will
" bring them down into the valley of the Lord's

* This is applied by St. Peter to *the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost*, though strictly relating to *the era of the restoration of the Jews and the glorious period of the millennium.* The *first advent* of Christ is frequently considered by the inspired writers as a sort of type of his *second advent:* whence we find, that predictions, which properly belong to *the one period*, are often applied by anticipation to *the other.* Thus, in a similar manner, the apostles apply the prophecy of David, in *that second Psalm*, to *the conspiracy of the chief priests with Herod and Pontius Pilate against our Lord:* yet, if any one will compare *the second Psalm* with *the description of the Word of God routing his congregated enemies in the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalypse*, he will be convinced, that it does not receive its ultimate accomplishment till *the second advent*, whether literal or spiritual, at the commencement of *the Millennium.*

" judgment,

" judgment*, and will plead with them there for
" my people, and for my heritage Israel, whom they
" have scattered among the nations, and they have
" divided my land.—The children also of Judah,
" and the children of Jerusalem, have ye sold unto
" the sons of the Ionim†, that ye might remove
" them far from their border. Behold, I will raise
" them out of the place whither ye have sold them,
" and will return your recompence upon your own
" head: and I will sell your sons and your daugh-
" ters into the hand of the children of Judah, and
" they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people
" far off: for the Lord hath spoken it. Proclaim
" ye this among the nations: sanctify‡ war, wake
" up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw
" near; let them come up. Beat your plowshares
" into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears:
" let the weak say, I am strong. Assemble your-
" selves, and come, all ye nations, and gather your-
" selves together round about: thither cause thy
" mighty ones to come down, O Lord. Let the
" nations be awakened, and come up to the valley

* Or the valley of Jehoshaphat.

† By *these Ionim* seem to be meant *all the various worshippers of the Ionah, or Noetic dove*, both in the East and in the West; not *the Ionians of Greece exclusively. The dispersion of the Jews* extends nearly to the whole world: and so widely, in old times, did *the worship of the Ionah* also extend. I have already considered the subject in *a Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri.*

‡ So the word is properly rendered in the margin of our translation of the Bible.

" of

" of the Lord's judgment: for there will I *the Lord*
" sit to judge all the nations round about. Put ye
" in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get
" you down, for the press is full, the fats overflow;
" for their wickedness is great. Multitudes, multi-
" tudes, in the valley of cutting off: for the day of
" the Lord is near in the valley of cutting off. The
" sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the
" stars shall withdraw their shining. The Lord
" also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice
" from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth
" shall shake: but the Lord will be the hope of his
" people, and the strength of the children of Israel.
" So shall ye know, that I am the Lord your God
" dwelling in Zion my holy mountain: then shall
" Jerusalem be holy, and there shall no strangers
" pass through her any more *."

III. Such are *the four most remarkable prophecies*, which treat of the events that are to take place at the close of *the* 1260 *years*†. Those of Daniel and St. John are strictly chronological ones, and are therefore in some measure their own interpreters: and, as for those of Zechariah and Joel, although

* Joel ii. iii.

† To discuss *all* the prophecies relative to those events would occupy too large a portion of a Work like the present, which professes to treat peculiarly of the events comprehended *within* the 1260 years. *The restoration of Israel* and *the overthrow of Antichrist*, which are here very briefly noticed, are considered at large in my Work which is professedly dedicated to that purpose.

they

they be not marked by the chronological numbers and the long-continued and connected series of events which form so striking a feature of the other predictions, yet they contain within them facts which are amply sufficient to shew at what era they will be accomplished. They both foretell *the restoration of the Jews:* consequently all the matters, of which they speak as connected with *that restoration,* must be the same matters as those of which Daniel speaks as being similarly connected with it.

Hence it will follow, that *the destruction of the nations in the vicinity of Jerusalem,* predicted by Zechariah as contemporary with *the restoration of the Jews,* must be the same as *the overthrow of the Infidel king in Palestine,* predicted by Daniel as likewise contemporary with *the restoration of the Jews.* Hence also it will follow, that *the fierce people* symbolized by *a flight of locusts,* so accurately described at the beginning of the prediction of Joel, as spreading desolation wherever they come, as wonderfully succeeding in all their enterprizes, as running to and fro in the great city, as scaling the walls of fenced cities with open violence, as entering insidiously in at the windows like a thief, as causing tremendous revolutions in the political heavens; that *this fierce people* can be no other than *the people of Daniel's infidel king;* who are to begin their reign of havock and plunder under *the third woe-trumpet,* during the comparatively short time which the devil hath before the termination of *the 1260 years,* before the commencement of *the resto-*

ration

ration of the Jews *. It will likewise follow, that *the invasion of Palestine by the northern army*, or *the army of Antichrist entering it by way of the north*, is the same as *the similar expedition of the infidel king*: and that *the destruction of this northern army with its face to the eastern sea, and its hinder part toward the utmost sea*, is the same event as *the destruction of the infidel king, after he has planted the curtains of his pavilions between the seas in the glorious holy mountain*; for in both cases, the scene is equally laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, between *the eastern or dead sea*, and *the western or mediterranean sea*. It will lastly follow, that *the great battle of the nations, in the valley of the Lord's judgment*, is the same as *the great battle of the beast, the false prophet, and the kings, at Armageddon*; and as the conclusion of *the time of unexampled trouble*, during which Daniel, like Joel, predicts that *the restoration of the Jews* will take place.

1. It appears then from these concurring prophecies, that the final war of *the beast* and *the false prophet* against the Gospel, though probably first raging with great violence in Europe, during *the*

* Since the first edition of this work was published, I have read *Chandler's Paraphrase of Joel*, and am more convinced than ever I was, that this *locust-army* cannot mean *a flight of mere literal locusts* as he supposes, but must denote, like the parallel prophecy in Rev. ix. *a flight of symbolical locusts*: which *symbolical locusts* the whole context of the prediction teaches us must mean *the desolating armies of Antichrist*. This point is fully discussed in my Work on *the Restoration of Israel*.

earthquake

earthquake by which *the Latin city is divided into three parts* and by which *the islands and mountains or smaller states of the empire are swallowed up in some grand scheme of iniquitous partition;* or, in the language of Joel, during *the time that wonders are shewn in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke:* the final war will manifestly be decided *in Palestine between the two seas* *.

The corresponding and joint declaration of Daniel, Zechariah, and Joel, relative to *the country* which is ultimately to be the seat of *this last war*, is confirmed in a very remarkable manner by St. John. In his brief account of *the vintage*, under which *Popery* and *Infidelity* are for ever destroyed, he informs us, that *the winepress*, meaning *the winepress of Armageddon*, should be trodden *without* the city, and that blood should come out of it, even to the horses' bridles, by *the space of* 1600 *furlongs*. Both these descriptive marks perfectly correspond with *the land of Palestine;* the land, in which by the unanimous testimony of the prophets the last great controversy of the Lord will be carried on. In one sense, that country is *within* the great city; and, in another sense, *without* it. It is *within* it, if *the whole Roman empire* be considered, as in-

* "I have an unfashionable partiality," says Bp. Horsley, "for the opinions of antiquity. I think there is ground in the "prophecies for the notion of the early fathers, that *Palestine* is "the stage, on which *Antichrist*, in the height of his impiety, "will perish." Letter on the 18th chap. of Isaiah.

cluding

cluding both *its proper seat in the West*, and *its Eastern conquests from the third or Macedonian beast*. But it is *without* it, if *the revived or Latin empire* be considered, because *that empire* was confined exclusively to *the West*. Hence we find it said, in perfect harmony with this supposition, that our Lord was crucified *in* the great city *; because he suffered during the existence of *the ancient Roman empire*, which comprehended the sovereignty both of *the East* and of *the West*. And hence we moreover find it said, that *the winepress of Armageddon* should be trodden *without* the city; because at the time when this event is to happen, *the East* should not form a part of the sovereignty of *the revived or Latin empire:* and history accordingly testifies, that it never did form any part of it †. This land, *without* the city, where the figurative winepress is to be trodden, is described by St. John as extending 1600 *furlongs;* and all the other prophets declare, that the land in question is *Palestine:* hence we are naturally led to expect, that *Palestine* should extend 1600 *furlongs*. Now it is highly worthy of observation, that the length of *that region between the two seas* which is destined to witness the fall of *Antichrist* and his congregated host, if a line be drawn along the sea-shore from its southern to

* Rev. xi. 8.

† The temporary prevalence of the Latins in the East, during the time of the crusades, forms a solitary exception to this general rule.

its northern frontier, amounts exactly to 1600 *Jewish Risin* or *Stadia* *.

2. Not merely *the land* however is pointed out, where this great battle is to be fought, but even *the very place in that land.* Zechariah, as we have seen, fixes in *general* terms the scene of action in *Palestine* and in *the neighbourhood of Jerusalem:* Joel likewise fixes the scene of action in *Palestine,* declaring that *the northern army* shall be destroyed *between the two seas:* Daniel no less explicitly affirms, that *the infidel king,* after having planted the curtains of his pavilions *between the seas* in the glorious holy mountain, shall come to his end, none being able to help him: and St. John asserts, that *the winepress* shall be trodden *in a land which ex-*

* See D'Anville's Map of Palestine with scales of measures. This coincidence between *the length of Palestine* and *the* 1600 *stadia* was noticed by Jerome; and it probably was one reason why the fathers rightly believed, that *Antichrist* should perish in that country. Mr. Mede mentions the circumstance: but, from an idea that *the city* means *the literal city of Rome* instead of *the Roman Empire,* he supposes, contrary to the express declarations of all the prophecies which treat of the subject, that *the last great war* will be decided *without* the walls of *Rome* and in *the territories of the Pope;* and thence observes, that *the measure of Peter's patrimony,* from the walls of Rome to the last mouth of the Po, is 1600 *furlongs* (Comment. Apoc. in Vindemiam.). Upon this it will be sufficient to observe, that the *whole* length of the papal dominions is considerably more than 1600 *furlongs:* and even if the coincidence had been exact, nothing would have been proved thereby, because the prophets unanimously direct our attention to quite another country, namely *Palestine,* which is found to be precisely 1600 *furlongs* in length. See Pol. Synop. in loc.

tends

tends 1600 *furlongs*—In addition to this *general* statement of *the country*, where these events are to happen, Joel further informs us, that *the battle of the nations* shall not only be fought *between the two seas*, but in *the valley of Jehoshaphat;* and St. John predicts very definitely, that *this same battle* shall not only be fought in *a land which extends* 1600 *furlongs*, but in *a certain place of that land* called *Armageddon—The valley of Jehoshaphat* therefore and *Armageddon* are one and the same region—Now the word *Jehoshaphat* signifies *the Judgment of the Lord:* and *the valley of the battle* is indifferently styled by Joel *the valley of Jehoshaphat* or *the judgment of the Lord*, and *the valley of concision or destruction.* It is plain therefore, that *this* is not *the proper*, but only *a descriptive* *, name of the place; that is, of *some place or other between the two seas*—Here then St. John steps forward, and furnishes us with *the literal proper name* of the region, which is thus to be made the scene of the just judgment of the Lord. *Armageddon* signifies *the destruction of Megiddo:* and *Megiddo* is a town situate *between the two seas*, in the half-tribe of Manasseth, at a small distance from the shores of the Mediterranean †. In the valley of this place, Josiah

* That *Jehoshaphat* is only a descriptive name of the place, is evident from the context:—" the valley of Jehoshaphat, *for there* " *will I (Jehovah) sit to judge the nationsro und about.*"

† *Armageddon* is the abbreviated compound of חרמה־מגדון *Arma-Mageddon, the devoting to utter destruction at Megiddo.*

Josiah lost his life in his fatal encounter with Pharaoh king of Egypt: and it appears, that *this valley of the destruction of Megiddo*, or, as it is termed by Joel, *this valley of the judgment of the Lord*, is hereafter to be the scene of a yet more dreadful conflict.

" Hic itaque crasis est, ut in nomine אברהם pro אב־רב־המון " &c." (See Pol. Synop. in loc.). I prefer this derivation of the word to that proposed by Calmet. He conceives it to be compounded of *Ar* and *Megiddon*, and thence to signify *the mountain of Megiddo*. Such a supposition however by no means tallies either with the ordinary language of Scripture employed in speaking of Megiddo, or with the parallel prophecy in the book of Joel. *The valley* of Megiddo is twice spoken of (2 Chron. xxxv. 22. Zechar. xii. 11.); *the Mountain* of Megiddo, never: and, agreeably to this phraseology, the future stage of the great battle of Armageddon is termed by *Joel* the *valley*, not *the mountain*, of Jehoshaphat. Hence I think it scarcely probable, that *Armageddon* should signify *the mountain of Megiddo*.

It may not however be improper to remark, that Mr. Brightman proposes another derivation of *Armageddon*, which some may possibly prefer to that which I adopted, though he himself by running into mysticism does not make the use of it which he might have done. He conceives *Armageddon* to be הרימגדים *Ar-magedim*, *the mountain of delights*. Now Daniel teaches us, that *Antichrist*, immediately before his destruction, will pitch his tents between the seas in הר־צבי *Ar-tzebi*, *the mountain of glory*. It is possible therefore, that *Ar-magedim* and *Ar-tzebi* may both alike mean *mount Zion*; and consequently that *Jerusalem*, not *Megiddo*, is meant by the apocalyptic *Armageddon*. Perhaps this opinion may be supported by Zechar. xii. 2, 3, 4. xiv. 2, 3, 4. It is almost superfluous to observe, that Jerusalem answers to the description of being between the seas, no less than Megiddo. But, whatever precise *place* may be intended, Palestine is plainly the *region* in which *Antichrist* will be destroyed.

†

3. I have

3. I have observed, that *the gathering together of the kings of the earth to the battle of Armageddon* seems to mean *the gathering together of some great confederacy of the infidel popish powers, against the converted Jews supported by the arms of a mighty protestant maritime nation, to the place appointed for their destruction.* This conjecture is strengthened by a certain peculiarity of expression, which the Holy Spirit taught both Joel and Daniel to adopt in their respective predictions concerning the great troubles about to come to pass at the end of *the* 1260 *years.* Joel describes the proclamation, by which the nations are to be gathered together, as inviting them *to sanctify war:* and Daniel represents *the infidel tyrant* as going forth in great wrath *to devote, under the pretext of religion,* many to utter destruction*. From these expressions I am much inclined to think, that the gathering together of *the beast, the false prophet,* and *the kings of the Latin earth,* will be for the purpose of undertaking what a Papist would denominate *a holy war:* that

* Such is the proper meaning of the word חרם *Harem*, here used. Though Bp. Newton, I am persuaded, interprets the whole of this prophecy very erroneously; yet he is perfectly right in what he says respecting the verb *Harem*. "The original word, "which we translate *utterly to make away*, signifies *to anathe-* "*matize, to consecrate, to devote to utter perdition;* so that it "strongly implies, that this war should be made upon a religi- "ous account" (Dissert. xvii.). החרים. Anathematizavit, anathemate vel anathemati, internecioni, perditioni, devovit: consecravit, devotum effecit (Buxtorf. Lexic.). החרים. Occidit, disperdidit, devastavit, morti addixit, anathematizavit, anathemati subjecit. Calas. Concord.

is

is to say, a war somewhat similar to *the ancient holy crusade* against the Waldenses of Provence, a war entered into under the cognizance of *the cross* for the pious purpose of exterminating all those whom *the Church of Rome* thinks proper to denominate *heretics**. This infamous prostitution of the sacred name of religion will however be amply repayed upon their own head. The *Arma*, or *destroying anathema*, which *the false prophet* shall fulminate against his enemies, and which his zealous coadjutor *the atheistico-papal tyrant* will go forth in great fury to put in execution against those whom he hath religiously devoted to destruction, shall prove *an Arma* only to themselves. Accordingly we find, what is somewhat remarkable, that the same word *Arma*, the radical verb of which Daniel uses to express the manner in which *the infidel king* should go forth in his wrath, is united by St. John in composition with the proper name *Megiddo*: as if he wished to intimate, that they, who

* Mr. Whitaker's idea, that *Jerusalem is ultimately to be the seat of the Pope*, is perhaps not altogether *improbable;* but I cannot find, that there is any express warrant for such a supposition in Scripture. Mr. Whitaker refers to Rev. xi. 7, 8. in confirmation of his opinion: but this passage affords no proof. Jerusalem is never styled *the great city*. That title is exclusively applied to *the Roman empire*, which is here likewise intended (Com. p. 441.). Mr. Whitaker, since this was written, has laboured in a pamphlet, which he has published against me, to prove that *the great city* means *Jerusalem:* but he appears to me to have completely failed in establishing his position, in which indeed he runs counter to the opinion of Mede, Newton, and all our best commentators.

had

had pronounced *an Arma* against all their opponents, should themselves feel the baleful effects of the Lord's *Arma* at *Arma-Megiddon* *. The very league of *the false prophet* indeed with *the beast* and *the kings of the earth* might alone lead us to conclude, that this war should be *a religious war:* for if it were a war undertaken only upon common principles, it is not easy to assign a reason why *the false prophet* should be evidently so much interested in its success.

IV. The following, as far as I am able to collect from prophecy, seems to be the order, in which the great events that begin to take place at the close of *the* 1260 *years* will succeed each other †.

1. At the pouring out of *the seventh vial, the great Latin city* will be divided into *three parts;* and the expedition of *the wilful king* against Palestine, predicted by Daniel ‡, will commence. *The* 1260 *years* having now expired, the *restoration of the Jews* will likewise commence: for it is declared, that their restoration shall at once be contemporary with *the time of unexampled trouble* which

* Mr. Fleming has much the same remark. After observing that *Arma* signifies both *an anathema* and *a slaughter*, he adds, "that both *the anathemas* darted against the saints by the Ro-"manists, and *their armies* made use of against them, may be "here alluded to." Apoc. Key. p. 63.

† I purposely give only a very brief statement of these matters, and omit all references to particular prophecies, as I discuss them at large in my separate work on *the Restoration of Israel and the overthrow of the Antichristian confederacy.*

‡ Dan. xi. 40—45.

marks

marks *the time of the end*, and shall begin to take place so soon as *the three times and half* terminate.

(1.) One great body of *the Jews* will be converted and restored by the instrumentality of *some mighty maritime nation of faithful worshippers*, and therefore by *some maritime nation hostile to the views and principles of Antichrist* *. Those consequently,

* Bp. Horsley's translation of the 18th chapter of Isaiah, and some of his remarks upon the prophecy contained in it, are so remarkably apposite to the plan of the present work, that I shall take the liberty of transcribing them.

ISAIAH XVIII.

1. Ho! land spreading wide the shadow of (thy) wings, which art beyond the rivers of Cush!

2. Accustomed to send messengers by sea, even in bulrush vessels upon the surface of the waters! Go, swift messengers unto a nation dragged away and plucked, unto a people wonderful from their beginning hitherto, a nation expecting, expecting, and trampled under foot, whose land rivers have spoiled.

3. All ye, the inhabitants of the world, and dwellers upon earth, shall see the lifting up, as it were, of a banner upon the mountains; and shall hear the sounding, as it were, of a trumpet.

4. For thus saith Jehovah unto me: I will sit still (but I will keep my eye upon my prepared habitation), as the parching heat just before lightning, as the dewy cloud in the heat of harvest.

5. For, afore the harvest, when the bud is coming to perfection, and the blossom is become a juicy berry, he will cut off

sequently, who are thus converted and brought back by sea, must clearly be such *Jews*, as were either

off the useless shoots with pruning hooks; and the bill shall take away the luxuriant branches.

6. They shall be left together to the bird of prey of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth. And upon it shall the bird of prey summer, and all the beasts of the earth upon it shall winter.

7. At that season a present shall be led to Jehovah of hosts, a people dragged away and plucked; even of a people wonderful from their beginning hitherto; a nation expecting, expecting, and trampled under foot, whose land rivers have spoiled, unto the place of the name of Jehovah of hosts, Mount Zion.

COMMENTARY.

The shadow of thy wings.] "The shadow of wings is a very "usual image in prophetic language for protection afforded by "the stronger to the weak. God's protection of his servants "is described by their being safe under the shadow of his "wings. And, in this passage, the broad shadowing wings "may be intended to characterize some great people, who "should be famous for the protection they should give to those, "whom they received into their alliance; and I cannot but "think this the most simple and natural exposition of the "expression."

Though I have made this citation from Bp. Horsley, I think it right to observe, that his Lordship does not appear to me, either to have given the most natural interpretation of the passage, or to have translated it quite properly. In effect he gives the sense of the *Hiphil* conjugation to צלל, which, if it be *a participle*, it will scarcely bear; for *spreading wide the shadow of thy wings* is the same as *causing thy wings to spread wide their shadow*

either scattered through the dominions and colonies of *the maritime power*, or through those of other

shadow—I would rather translate the passage, *Ho! land of the perpetual shadow of sails.* And this version I adopt on the following grounds—Since some maritime nation plainly seems here to be spoken to, I think we are warranted in understanding כנפים metaphorically, as *the wings of ships*, or *sails*; πτεροισι, πλεφυγες, as the LXX translate it. Though Bp. Horsley renders the word by *wings*, and understands it in the sense of *protection*; yet he remarks, that both the LXX, Jonathan, and Coverdale, take כנפים to mean *sails*, and afterwards allows that this sense seems to be insinuated in the imagery of the first verse—I conceive צלצל to be a substantive, not a participle; it is צל, *a shadow*, in its reduplicate form, which involves the idea of *frequency* or *intensity of action.* Aquila renders it σκια. The expression ארץ צלצל כנפים, *a land of the perpetual shadow of sails*, describes the most remarkable quality of the country spoken to. It is a genuine Hebraism, perfectly analogous to ארץ נחלי מים, *a land of streams of water.* See Deut. viii. 7, 8—x. 7—2 Kings xviii. 32—Isaiah xxxvi. 17—Compare Isaiah liii. 3—Gen. xxv. 27—1 Chron. xxii. 9—This version has been submitted to the Bp. of Killalla; and, though it differs from his own, I have the pleasure of saying that he does not object to it.

To send messengers.] "The orginal word צירים may be "taken for persons employed between nation and nation, for "the purposes either of negociation or commerce."

Bulrush vessels.] "Navigable vessels are certainly meant—"If the country spoken to be distant from Egypt, vessels of "bulrush are only used as an apt image, on account of their "levity, for quick sailing vessels of any material. The coun-"try therefore, to which the prophet calls, is characterized as "one, which in the days of the completion of this prophecy "should be a great maritime and commercial power, forming "remote alliances, making distant voyages to all parts of the "world with expedition and security, and in the habit of af-

"fording

other smaller *maritime nations* in alliance with and professing the same faith as *the great naval power* itself.

(2.) Another

" fording protection to their friends and allies. Where this " country is to be found, is not otherwise said, than that it " will be remote from Judèa, and with respect to that country, " beyond the Cushèan streams."

A nation dragged away.] " The dispersed Jews: a nation " dragged away from its proper seat, and plucked of its wealth " and power; a people wonderful from the beginning to this " very time for the special providence, which ever has attended " them, and directed their fortunes; a nation still lingering in " expectation of the Messiah, who so long since came and " was rejected by them, and now is coming again in glory; a " nation universally trampled under foot; whose land *rivers*, " armies of foreign invaders, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Syro-" Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks, have over-run " and depopulated."

At that season a present shall be led.] " Immediately after the " purgation of the Church, at the very time, when the bird of " prey with all the beasts of the earth, Antichrist with his rebel " rout, shall have fixed his seat between the seas, in the holy " mountain, a present shall be brought; the nation, described " in ver 2, as those to whom the swift messengers are sent, " after their long infidelity, shall be brought as a present unto " Jehovah (Compare lxvi. 20.). They shall be converted to " the acknowledgment of the truth, and they shall be brought " to the place of the name of Jehovah, to mount Zion: they " shall be settled in peace and prosperity, in the land of their " original inheritance—This then is the sum of this prophecy, " and the substance of the message sent to the people dragged " away and plucked. That, in the latter ages, after a long sus-" pension of the visible interpositions of Providence, God who " all the while regards that dwelling-place which he will never " abandon, and is at all times directing the events of the world

" to

(2.) Another considerable body of *the Jews*, there is reason to believe will be restored by land and

" to the accomplishment of his own purposes of wisdom and
" mercy: immediately before the final gathering of his elect
" from the four winds of heaven, will purify his Church by
" such signal judgments, as shall rouse the attention of the whole
" world, and in the end, strike all nations with religious awe.
" At this period, the apostate faction will occupy the Holy
" Land. This faction will certainly be an instrument of those
" judgments, by which the Church will be purified. That
" purification therefore is not at all inconsistent with the seem-
" ing prosperity of the affairs of the atheistical confederacy.
" But, after such duration as God shall see fit to allow to the
" plenitude of its power, the Jews, converted to the faith of
" Christ, will be unexpectedly restored to their ancient posses-
" sions. The swift messengers will certainly have a considerable
" share, as intruments in the hand of God, in the restoration
" of the chosen people: otherwise, to what purpose are they
" called upon (ver. 1.) to receive their commission from the
" prophet? It will perhaps be some part of their business to
" afford the Jews the assistance and protection of their fleets.
" This seems to be insinuated in the imagery of the first verse.
" But the principal part, they will have to act, will be that of
" the carriers of God's message to his people. This character
" seems to describe some christian country, where the prophe-
" cies, relating to the latter ages, will meet with particular at-
" tention; where the literal sense of those, which promise the
" restoration of the Jewish people, will be strenuously upheld;
" and where these will be so successfully expounded, as to be
" the principal means, by God's blessing, of removing the veil
" from the hearts of the Israelites. Those, who shall thus be
" the instruments of this blessed work, may well be described,
" in the figured language of prophecy, as the carriers of God's
" message to his people. The situation of the country des-
" tined to so high an office, is not otherwise described in the
" prophecy,

and in an unconverted state by *the Antichristian faction;* and *that* for mere political purposes. Those consequently, who are thus brought back, must be such *Jews* as are scattered through the territories of *the infidel king* and his *vassal allies.*

2. Daniel has given us a wonderfully minute account of the progress of *the Antichristian confederacy* to Palestine; which, as might naturally be

" prophecy, than by this circumstance; that it is to be beyond " the rivers of Cush: that is, far to the West of Judèa, if these " rivers of Cush are to be understood, as they have been gene- " rally understood, of the Nile and other Ethiopian rivers; " far to the East, if of the Tigris and Euphrates. The one, or " the other, they must denote: but which, is uncertain. It " will be natural to ask of what importance is this circumstance " in the character of the country; which, if it be any thing, " is a geographical character, and yet leaves the particular " situation so much undetermined, that we know not in what " quarter of the world to look for the country intended, whether " in the East Indies, or in the western part of Africa or Europe, " or in America? I answer, that the full importance of this " circumstance will not appear, till the completion of this pro- " phecy shall discover it. But it had, as I conceive, a tempo- " rary importance at the time of the delivery of the prophecy; " namely, that it excluded Egypt. The Jews of Isaiah's time, " by a perverse policy, were on all occasions courting the alli- " ance of the Egyptians, in opposition to God's express injunc- " tions by his prophets to the contrary. Isaiah therefore, as if " he would discourage the hope of aid from Egypt at any time, " tells them, that the foreign alliance, which God prepares for " them in the latter times, is not that of Egypt, which he teaches " them at all times to renounce and to despise, but that of a " country far remote: as every country must, that lies either " West of the Nile, or East of the Tigris." Bp. of St. Asaph's Letter on Isaiah xviii.

expected

expected from the circumstance of *the maritime power*, commanding at sea, is plainly by land. This expedition of *the infidel king*, which we must conclude both from local and chronological evidence to be the same as the expedition of *the beast under his last head the false prophet, and the kings of the Latin earth*, will at its first setting out be opposed by *two kings of the south* and *the north*. Now, if *the infidel king* be *France*, he must, in his attempt to invade *the holy land* from his empire in the West, necessarily pass through *Turkey*. Here therefore most probably will be the first collision. *The Ottoman power*, as we learn from St. John, will have previously fallen under *the sixth apocalyptic vial:* but in whose hands *Turkey* and *Asia minor* will then be, no one can at present with certainty determine. In spite however of all the opposition made *by the two kings*, *Antichrist* will enter into the countries, overflowing them like a resistless torrent; will pass over the narrow channel of the Constantinopolitan sea; and will force his way into *Palestine*. Such being his progress, he must unavoidably enter *the holy land* from the north: hence his invasion is so frequently spoken of as proceeding from that quarter *.

* About this period, as I have already observed, I think it most probable, that *the great hail-storm* of *the seventh vial* will descend upon *the western Roman empire*. It is perhaps described as proceeding from *heaven* or *the Church*, in the same sense as *the witnesses* are said to shut *heaven;* that is to say not *causally*, but *consequentially*.

Successful

Successful in his first attempt, and having placed his allies *the unconverted Jews* in Jerusalem and its vicinity, he will next direct his steps towards *Egypt*. *Edom*, and *Moab*, and the chief of the children of *Ammon*, will nevertheless escape out of his hand. For this they have to thank, not his moderation and clemency, but merely their local situation. A map will best explain the reason of their security. The districts, which those nations formerly occupied, lie so far to the east, as to be entirely out of the way of any army which is passing from *Judæa* into *Egypt*. But, over other countries more closely adjoining to *Egypt*, he will stretch forth his hand: and, while *Egypt* is unable to escape his marauding rapacity, those, whom Daniel calls *the Lubim* and *the Cushim*, will be compelled to attend his steps, and probably either augment his armies or perform the more menial offices of his camp.

3. In the midst of his African conquests, he will be troubled by tidings out of the east and the north. What these tidings are, Daniel does not positively determine: but the subsequent context plainly shews, that they must relate, *in part at least*, to some disagreeable intelligence respecting Jerusalem. From this circumstance, and by the assistance of other parallel prophecies, we may form a *conjecture* respecting them, which may perhaps not be deemed altogether improbable.

(1.) *The tidings from the east* seem to be connected with events which take place at Jerusalem during

during the absence of *Antichrist* in Egypt and Libya.

We left *the great maritime power*, preparing to bring by sea its allies, *the converted Jews*, as a present to the Lord of hosts, to mount Zion. Now, in whatever part of the world this power may be situated, whether far beyond the eastern or the western Cushèan streams, it is plain that its navy can only approach *Palestine* by the way of the Mediterranean sea. Such then will indisputably be its course. The maritime expedition at length reaches *Palestine:* but *the believing Jews*, and their *naval protectors*, find themselves opposed by *the unbelieving Jews* and the troops which *Antichrist* had left behind him to garrison Jerusalem and other strong-holds. Apparently after no trifling bloodshed, and (if I judge rightly from some prophecies) when *the converted Jews* had suffered very considerably, the eyes of their unconverted brethren will unexpectedly be opened; they will spiritually look upon him whom they have pierced; and, throwing off the base yoke of *Antichrist*, they will cordially join such of their nation as had embraced christianity, and had allied themselves to *the faithful maritime power*. Thus will the Lord bring to salvation *the tents of Judàh* first; or that body of *the Jews*, who are attached to the army of *the great maritime nation*, and who have not yet acquired a permanent settlement in cities: and afterwards *the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem*; or those *Jews*, who have been restored

in

in an unconverted state, and have been placed in their ancient metropolis by *Antichrist*.

At the period when these events happen (and that they *will* happen is revealed with sufficient clearness), we must necessarily suppose *Antichrist* to be in Egypt and Libya: both because there is no other time, in the course of his whole expedition, to which we can with equal propriety ascribe them; and because Daniel specially teaches us, that he shall return out of those countries to destroy many, and to plant the curtains of his pavilions between the seas in *the glorious holy mountain*. Thus situated, he would receive the intelligence from *the east*. For he would learn, by means of his own fugitive troops which had been stationed in *Judèa*, that *the maritime power* had completely succeeded in its first attempt, that it had brought back a large body of *converted Jews*, and that those who had been restored by *Antichrist* in an unconverted state had suddenly embraced the faith of protestant christianity and had revolted from him to their already believing brethren. Unless we admit, that either this or something like it will be the case, we shall find it no easy matter to account for the fury with which *Antichrist* is represented as returning into *Judèa* which he had *already* subdued, and as besieging Jerusalem which he had *already* given to his allies *the unconverted Jews*. For, that certain unbelieving *Jews* will be converted in Jerusalem, is plainly asserted by Zechariah: and, that the

city will afterwards be besieged and taken, is asserted both by Zechariah and Daniel. But *all those Jews*, who are restored by *the maritime power*, will return in a converted state, as is manifest from the language used by Isaiah*: by whom then can *the unconverted Jews* have been restored, except by *Antichrist*, who will make himself master of the whole land of *Palestine*; and why should he afterwards besiege them in Jerusalem, except on account of their conversion mentioned by Zechariah, and their revolt from his cause? for, if they had not revolted from him after their conversion, no reason can be assigned why he should so bitterly attack them.

(2.) With respect to *the tidings from the north*, I am much inclined to think, that they relate to *some great invasion of the Roman empire by the mighty king of the North*, after he has been baffled in his attempt to arrest the progress of *Antichrist*. Some such invasion as this at least, as I have already observed, seems to be predicted by St. John, under the imagery of *a violent storm of hail*, as taking place during the effusion of *the seventh vial*, and consequently as synchronizing with *the Anti-christian expedition* and *the restoration of the Jews*.

4. Troubled with such unpleasant tidings from the east and from the north, *Antichrist* hastily quits *Egypt* and *Libya*, and retraces his steps to *Judea*.

* See the preceding extract from Bp. Horsley.

Going

Going forth in the height of his fury, he threatens to destroy all such as should oppose him: and, calling in the aid of Popish bigotry, he sanctifies his expedition by representing it as a holy crusade against heretics; and, with banners blessed by *the false prophet*, who (as we have reason to believe from the Apocalypse*) will be his companion, he devotes many to utter extermination under the blasphemous pretext of religion. His wonted success at first attends him. He besieges Jerusalem now occupied by his enemies, and takes it. Here he exercises his usual barbarity; a barbarity, increased ten-fold by the defection of his late allies. The houses are rifled, and the women are ravished, by his licentious soldiery. Half of the inhabitants are made captive: but the other half are permitted still to remain in the city, under the controul most probably of a strong garrison. Thus, ere he comes to his end none being able to help him, does he plant the curtains of his tents between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.

5. During these disasters, the troops of *the maritime power* appear to have retreated towards the seashore, in order that they may be able to regain their ships, if all further resistance should prove fruitless. Here they would doubtless be joined by the great body of their allies, *the first converted Jews*, and by such of those that were afterwards converted, as were able to effect their escape from the rage of *Antichrist*.

* Rev. xix. 19, 20.

tichrist. To this devoted host the tyrant now directs his attention. Anticipating an easy victory over his last enemies, either by suddenly cutting them off from their ships or by compelling them to re-embark, and with proud exultation looking forward to the uncontrouled empire of the civilized world, he leaves Jerusalem, and advances with his whole army to Megiddo. Between this town and the sea we may suppose the troops of *the maritime power* and *the Jews* to have taken their position, hopeless probably of victory from their vast disparity in numbers to the huge hosts of their enemy. But the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift. At this anxious moment, the glory of the Lord is suddenly manifested in the midst of Jerusalem, and Jehovah himself becometh a wall of fire around her. The Almighty Word of God goeth forth, like a man of war, in the greatness of his strength; and all his saints, the innumerable armies of heaven, are with him. His awful commission is from the Most High. For, after the manifestation of the glory, the Lord of hosts sendeth him unto the nations that have spoiled his ancient people: that he may shake his hand over them, that they may become a spoil unto those whom they had made their servants, that they may know that the Lord of hosts hath sent him, that they may learn by bitter experience that he who toucheth *Judah* toucheth the apple of his eye. The tremendous vision halts for a moment on the mount of Olives; which, like Sinai of old, acknowledges a present God,

God, and with a mighty earthquake cleaves asunder in the midst. It then advances to the valley of Megiddo, and hovers over the heads of the palsied troops of *Antichrist*. The Divine Word displays himself to the assembled nations. The faithful look up with awful wonder, knowing that their redemption draweth nigh. Every eye seeth him; and they also, his kindred after the flesh, which pierced him, now behold him in his glory. He cometh with clouds; and all the kindreds of *the Latin earth* wail because of him. He descendeth in his wrath: he treadeth the winepress in the fury of his indignation: his garments are sprinkled with the blood of his enemies *.

6. It appears from comparing various prophecies together, that the overthrow of *the Antichristian confederacy* will be effected partly by supernatural and partly by natural agency. Christ will indeed tread the winepress alone, for to his sole might will the victory be owing: yet will he likewise use the *instrumentality* of others. While he miraculously smites his enemies with a dreadful plague, so that

* After a long and attentive examination of the subject, I rest in Mr. Mede's opinion that there will be some preternatural manifestation of the Messiah, though I cannot think that he assigns to it its proper place in the succession of events. He supposes, that it will be *the cause* of the conversion of *the Jews*; whereas, according as matters appear to me, they will be *previously* converted; and Christ will be revealed, not to turn *them* to the faith, but to execute judgment upon his *enemies*. See Isaiah lxiii. 1—6. Dan. vii. 9, 10, 11. Joel iii. 16. Zech. ii. 8—11. xiv. 3, 4, 12, 13. 2 Thess. ii. 8. Rex. xix. 11—21.

their

their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth; he will send likewise among them a great tumult from the Lord, so that they shall lay hold every one on the hand of his neighbour, and his hand shall rise up against the hand of his neighbour. *Judah* also, summoned to the dreadful task of vengeance by his God, shall take an active part in the destruction of his enemies; for, in that day, the Lord will make the governors of *Judah* like a hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf; and they shall devour all the people round about, on the right hand and on the left. Thus will *Antichrist* come to his end, and none shall help him. Thus will *the beast now under his last head* be taken, and with him *the false prophet* that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of *the beast*, and them that worshipped his image. These both will be cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone; but the remnant will be slain with the sword of that Almighty Conqueror who sitteth upon the white horse, even with the sword of the word that proceedeth out of his mouth. They will be spiritually slain as his enemies, but they will be converted to the profession of genuine Christianity *. Nevertheless, as some

* *This remnant* I take to be *the third part of the Antichristian army*, which, according to Zechariah, will be spared and converted. *Their being slain by the sword* is analogous to *the Roman beast*.

some punishment of their rebellion, they will be deprived of their substance: all the fowls will be filled with their flesh *.

7. Since *the Jews* are to be restored in the midst of war and bloodshed, or, as Daniel expresses it, during a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, we may reasonably suppose that great numbers of them will perish. Accordingly we find, that their return from the countries of their dispersion is expressly compared by Ezekiel to their ancient exodus from Egypt. As God pleaded with their fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt; so will he likewise plead with them, causing them to pass under the rod, and purging out from among them the rebels. It is probable indeed, that only a small part of the first generation of those that are restored will quietly sit down under their own vines and under their own fig-trees. One whole generation of *the Israelites*, that were brought out of Egypt, perished in the course of *forty years* in the wilderness: and there is reason to think, that *the conversion and restoration of Judah*, and *the expedition and destruction of Antichrist*, will occupy a period of not less than 30 *years*. The swift messengers of *the great maritime power* will *begin* the work of *converting* the Jews, that is to say such Jews as

beast's being slain by the sword when the empire was converted to Christianity in the days of Constantine. See Brightman in loc. and Bp. Lowth on Isaiah xlix. 2.

* Thus the flesh of *the whore* is said to be eaten by *the ten kings* in Rev. xvii. 16.

are

are scattered through the countries subject to their influence. *Antichrist* meanwhile will collect the *unconverted* Jews from those parts of the isles, or the regions of Europe*, which are under his immediate controul, for the purpose of bringing them back in an *unbelieving* state to their own country: but whether *he*, or whether *the maritime power*, will absolutely *begin* the work of *restoring* the ancient people of God, cannot, I think, be certainly gathered from Scripture †. *His* plan will be a plan of pure Machiavelian policy: and, considering the frailty of

* By *the isles of the Gentiles* the Jews understood *all those countries which they could not reach from Palestine except by sea.* Hence the name was given to *Europe*, in contradistinction to *Asia*, which to *them* was strictly continental. See Mede's Works, Book i. Disc. 49. p. 272.

† That *the maritime power*, mystically termed by Isaiah *the ships of Tarshish*, will be *the first*, or (as the original expression is rendered by the LXX and in the Latin translation of the Arabic version) *among the first*, to attempt the conversion of the Jews; and that they will *afterwards* bring back to Palestine such as shall be converted by their instrumentality, seems to be revealed with sufficient plainness: but it is no where, I believe, positively declared, that they shall begin the work of *restoring* the Jews. Since *part of them* are to be brought back by *Antichrist* in an *unconverted* state, and *part* by *the maritime power* in a *converted* state, it certainly is possible that *Antichrist* may begin to restore *the one division* previous to *the restoration* or even *the conversion* of *the other division*. Most probably however the two events will be nearly, if not altogether, contemporary. The prophecy, contained in Isaiah lx. 8, 9, relates solely to *the restoration of the converted Jews*, because they are declared to be brought unto the name of the Lord: and we are taught, that some power, mystically termed *the ships of Tarshish*, shall be among the first to undertake this great enterprize.

human

human nature, it is much to be feared that the plan of *the maritime power*, strenuously as that power will exert itself in *converting* no less than in *collecting* the Jews, will be somewhat alloyed by worldly motives, and will not be adopted simply from a desire to promote the glory of God. Most probably politics will have taken such a turn at that eventful period, as to make it seem to be the interest of both those great powers to attempt the restoration of *the Jews*. Thus doubly brought back by two mighty contending nations, and thus plunged into the midst of perils and of war during the space of 30 *years* (for so long a time will, I think, intervene between the first effusion of *the seventh vial* at the close of *the* 1260 *years* when they begin to be restored, and the destruction of *Antichrist* at Megiddo), *the Jews* must inevitably suffer many calamities; and we are taught accordingly by Ezekiel, that such will assuredly be the case.

8. When the army of *Antichrist* is miraculously overthrown, the Lord, who forgetteth not mercy even in the midst of judgment, will not make an entire end; but will spare some of the least guilty of his enemies, reserving them for the noblest purposes. We learn from St. John, that *a remnant of the beast's army* will be spiritually slain by the sword of the word: and Zechariah teaches us, that even so much as *a third part* shall be spared. These may be supposed to be less hardened in wickedness than their associates; and to have taken a part in the expedition, either through the inveterate prejudices

dices of a Popish education (the expedition having been blessed and sanctified by *the false prophet)*, or through the tyrannical compulsion which we have already beheld *Antichristian France* begin to exercise over her degraded allies. Nor will they only be spared: plucked as brands out of the burning, they will likewise be converted by the mercy of God to a zealous profession of genuine Christianity.

9. Thus wonderfully preserved and converted, they will become proper instruments to accomplish the yet unfulfilled purposes of the Most High. Scattered over the face of the whole earth, they will carry every where the tidings of their own defeat, of the marvellous power of the Lord, and of the restoration of *Judah*. Meanwhile there is some reason to suppose, that the awful apparition of *the Shechinah* will still remain suspended over Jerusalem, visible at once from its stupendous height to a whole hemisphere, and bearing ample attestation to the veracity of the fugitives*. Nor will they carry their message in vain. *Judah* is indeed restored: but *the lost ten tribes of Israel* are still dispersed through the extensive regions of the north and of the east. These, according to the sure word of prophecy, however they may be now concealed from mortal knowledge, will be found again, and will be

* I apprehend it was from passages of this import, that Mr. Mede supposed that *the Jews* would be converted by a supernatural manifestation of Christ. Had he said *the ten tribes*, instead of *the Jews*, I believe he would have approached very near to the truth.

brought

brought back into the country of their fathers. All nations and all tongues shall come and see the glory of the Lord; for he will set among them a sign, even the sign of the illuminated *Shechinah;* and will send unto them those that have escaped from the slaughter of *the Antichristian confederacy*, that they may declare his glory among the nations. Convinced by ocular demonstration that God doth indeed reign in Zion, and at once divinely impelled and enabled both to seek out from among them and to find the long lost sheep of *the house of Israel*, they will bring by land, in vast caravans, all *the brethren of Judah* for an offering unto the Lord, *as the great maritime power* had already brought *the converted Jews* for a present unto the Lord to his holy mountain. Then shall the stick of *Joseph* be united for ever with the stick of *Judah: Ephraim* shall be no more a separate people: but the whole house of *Jacob* shall become one nation under one king, even the mystic David, Jesus the Messiah.

The various prophecies, which speak of the restoration of *the ten tribes*, certainly cannot relate to the restoration of those detached individuals out of them, who returned with *Judah* from the Babylonian captivity. This is manifest, both because their restoration is represented as perfectly distinct from the restoration of *Judah*, and because it is placed at once subsequent to that event and to the overthrow of *Antichrist*. In fact, the converted fugitives from the army of *Antichrist* are described as being greatly instrumental in bringing about the restoration of *the ten tribes*. Hence their restoration is plainly fu-

ture:

ture: and hence we cannot, with any degree of consistency, apply the predictions which foretel it to the return of a few individuals from Babylon with *Judah.* Of *the Jews,* who were carried away captive to Babylon, only a very small part, according to Houbigant not more than a hundredth part, returned to their own country. Those, who were left behind, will doubtless, at the time of the second advent, be brought back along with their brethren of *the ten tribes;* just as those individuals of *the ten tribes,* who returned with *Judah* from Babylon, and (adhering to him notwithstanding the Samaritan schism) were afterwards scattered with him by the Romans, will be brought back with their brethren *the Jews.* So far, but no further, the otherwise distinct restorations of *Judah* and *Joseph* will in some measure be mingled together. This circumstance is very accurately noted by Ezekiel, even when predicting the twofold restoration of *Judah* and *Joseph,* and their subsequent union under one king. He speaks neither of *Judah* nor *Joseph* simply; but styles the one division *Judah and the children of Israel his companions,* and the other division *Joseph and all the house of Israel his companions:* thus plainly intimating, that *some* of the children of *Israel* shall return with *Judah;* but that members of *all* the tribes, not of the kingdom of the *ten* tribes only, but of *all* the tribes, shall return with *Joseph* *.

10. I have stated, that the restoration of *Judah*

* See Bp. Horsley's Hosea, p. 59, 60.

will

will commence at the close of *the* 1260 *years*, and have intimated it to be probable that it will not be completely effected until a period of 30 *additional years* shall likewise have expired. This conjecture is founded upon a remarkable chronological passage in the book of Daniel. The prophet teaches us, that 75 *years* will intervene between the expiration of the 1260 *years* and the commencement of *the Millennium:* and these 75 *years* he divides without specifying any reason for such a division, into 30 *years* and 45 *years*. What particular event will happen at the era of the division, we undoubtedly cannot *determine* with any degree of *certainty;* because Daniel has left it wholly *undetermined;* but we *must* conclude, that the point of the division will be marked by *some* signal event; otherwise how can we rationally account for its having been made? Now, when we find by comparing prophecy with prophecy, that the restoration of *Judah* will *precede* the restoration of *Israel*, and that the restoration of *Israel* will not even so much as *commence* until the restoration of at least the main body of *Judah* is *completed* and till the power of *Antichrist* is broken: it is at least highly probable, that the 30 *years* will be occupied in the conversion and restoration of *Judah*, in *the great earthquake* or *political convulsion* that divides *the Latin empire* into *three parts*, in *the northern hailstorm*, in the wars of *Antichrist* with *the kings of the South* and *the North*, in his grand expedition against *Palestine* and *Egypt*, and in the contemporary naval expedition of *the maritime*

power

power undertaken for the purpose of bringing back *the converted Jews;* that *the* 30 *years* will close with the complete overthrow of *Antichrist* in the valley of Megiddo, an event than which we cannot conceive one better calculated to mark a signal chronological epoch; and that *the* 45 *years* will be employed in the wanderings of those who escaped from the rout of *the Antichristian army* and who will carry every where the tidings of God's supernatural interference, and in the subsequent conversion and restoration of the whole house of *Israel.* I wish this to be understood *only* as a conjecture; for it would be folly to speak positively before the event.

11. When *the* 45 *years* shall have expired, when the whole family of *Jacob* shall have been converted and restored, and when the stick of *Judah* shall have united itself for ever with the stick of *Joseph;* then will commence the season of *millennian blessedness.* We have reason to suppose, that the ancient people of God, now converted to the faith of Christ, will be greatly instrumental in spreading the glad tidings of the Gospel among the heathen nations, already prepared to receive it by so many supernatural interpositions of Providence, and by beholding with their own eyes the glory of the Lord permanently manifested over Jerusalem. According to the united testimony of many of the prophets, *Israel,* after his restoration, will be sown among *the Gentiles;* and will thus be made, in a wonderful manner, from first to last, the seed of the Church. This preaching of the Gospel by *the converted Israelites,* unlike

unlike the preaching of it by that first handful only of seed the Hebrew Apostles of our Lord, will, I apprehend, be totally unattended by persecution or opposition: for all trials of that nature would be incompatible with the predicted peace and blessedness of the Millennian Church. God will incline the hearts of *the Gentiles* to receive the word gladly. Great shall be the day of *Jezrael.* For, if the fall of *the Jews* be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of *the Gentiles;* how much more their fulness? Nay, instead of opposing or slighting the truth, so eager shall the heathens be to receive it, that out of all the languages of the nations ten men shall lay hold of the skirt of only one Jew, declaring, with a holy vehemence, their full determination to go with him, inasmuch as they have heard that God is with him of a truth. In short, the whole world shall press eagerly to Jerusalem to behold the glory of the Lord, and to receive instruction from the lips of his servants. All nations shall flow, like a mighty torrent to his holy mountain, assured, that he will teach them of his ways, and cause them to walk in his paths; that the law shall go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

12. It is not impossible, that some may feel a curiosity to know *what nation* is intended by *the great maritime power* destined to take so conspicuous a part in the conversion and restoration of *Judah.* On this point their curiosity cannot be gratified; at least, not with any degree of precision. Yet, although we presume not to say, that *this* or *that particular modern*

dern nation is intended; we may, by comparing prophecy with prophecy, ascertain both the region in which that nation is to be sought, and the religious character of that nation. The result of such a comparison is briefly as follows: that *the maritime power* must not only be sought for *generally* in *the West*, but *particularly* in *the isles of the Gentiles* or *Europe;* and, not only *generally* in *the isles of the Gentiles* or *Europe*, but *particularly* in *the believing isles of the Gentiles* or *protestant Europe**. Further than this I cannot find that we have any authority to advance, and therefore I shall not attempt to advance further: but I shall content myself with resting in the conclusion, that *the maritime power* will be *that state of protestant Europe which shall possess a decided naval superiority at the time when the* 1260 *years shall expire.* This mighty *maritime power*, and perhaps other smaller *protestant maritime powers* its allies, described by the prophet under the general name of *the isles of the Gentiles*†, will be the agents in converting and restoring those *Jews* who are not under the influence of *Antichrist.*

13. From what has been said concerning the events which are to take place at the close of *the* 1260 *years*, the following positions may, I think, be collected.

* This comparison is drawn out at length in my Work on *the restoration of Israel, and the overthrow of Antichrist.*

† Isaiah lx. 9. That part of *the isles of the Gentiles* is of course here spoken of, which is not subject to the controul of *Antichrist.*

1. *The*

1. *The Jews* most certainly *will* be restored *. 2. They will as certainly be converted to Christianity. 3. They will begin to be restored as soon as *the* 1260 *years* shall have expired. 4. They will be restored in *two great divisions.* 5. *The*

* Some persons, fond of what they call *spiritualizing* Scripture, have asserted, that there never will be any *literal* restoration of the Jews, and that the only restoration which they will experience is *an admission into the Christian Church.*

The *spiritualizers* do not seem to consider, how strangely their scheme runs counter to every canon of sound criticism. There are prophecies, in which the *dispersion* and *restoration* of the Jews are jointly foretold: there are prophecies also, in which their *first restoration from Babylon* and their *yet future restoration from every quarter of the globe* are mentioned together; the latter, in plain reference to the former, being spoken of as a *second* restoration. See Deuter. iv. 27—31. Deuter. xxviii. 15—66. xxix. 22—29. xxxi. 1—10. Isaiah xi. 11—16. Ezek. xi. 16, 17: and elsewhere.

Now it is required by sound criticism, that the words of an author *in the same passage* should be interpreted *homogeneously:* otherwise it is plainly impossible to understand his meaning. Hence, when *the dispersion* and *restoration* of the Jews are jointly foretold, *the restoration* must evidently be of the same nature as *the dispersion:* and again, when their *first* and their *second restorations* are mentioned together, *the two* must doubtless be understood as being homogeneous. If then *the final restoration* of the Jews be purely *allegorical*, their *dispersion* and their *restoration from Babylon* must be *allegorical*, likewise: and, on the other hand, if their *dispersion* and their *restoration from Babylon* be *literal*, their *final restoration* must also be *literal.* But we *know*, that their *dispersion* and their *restoration from Babylon* were *literal.* Therefore their *final restoration* must be *literal* also. Aug. 3, 1814.

first of these divisions will be restored in a converted state by *the prevailing protestant maritime power* of the day. 6. *The second* will be restored in an unconverted state, and in opposition to the views of *the maritime power*, by *a confederacy* consisting of *the Roman beast under his last head, the false prophet*, and *the vassal kings of the earth or Latin empire.* 7. *The confederacy*, one member of which is certainly *the atheistico-papal king*, having sanctified their war by proclamation, will successfully invade *Palestine* by land, will occupy *Egypt*, will return and sack Jerusalem, and will plant the curtains of their pavilions between the seas in the glorious holy mountain. 8. Their triumph however after this last exploit will be but short. Assembling themselves together at Megiddo, they will suddenly be overthrown by the Divine Word of God, and will be agitated by such a preternatural confusion as to draw every man his sword against his fellow: so that the bulk of this *mighty northern army* shall miserably perish between the seas of Palestine; and *the infidel tyrant* himself come to his end, none being able to help him. 9. *The Latin city* will be divided by *an earthquake* into *three parts* at the first effusion of *the seventh vial; the earthquake, the expedition of Antichrist*, and *the rout at Armageddon*, being equally comprehended under *the same vial.* 10. *Two* out of *three parts* of *the bestial confederacy* will be destroyed at Megiddo. 11. The power of *the beast and the false prophet*

prophet will be for ever broken by their last decisive overthrow in *the valley of the Lord's judgment.* 12. *The third part* of *the bestial confederacy* will be spared and converted. 13. This *third part* will be scattered among the nations, and will be instrumental in preparing the way for the restoration and conversion of *the ten tribes.* 14. *The ten tribes* will be restored and will be for ever united with *the tribe of Judah,* so as to form with it only one nation. 15. At the end of 75 *years,* after the termination of *the* 1260 *years,* the season of *millennian* rest will commence *.

All

* Though I am unable to assent to the ingenious Mr. King's scheme of apocalyptic interpretation, his remarks upon Palestine, considered as the centre of the millennian empire of Christ upon earth, are highly worthy of notice. "How capable this country is of a more universal intercourse than any other, with all parts of the earth, is most remarkable; and deserves well to be considered, when we read the numerous prophecies which speak of its future splendour and greatness, when its people shall at length be gathered from all parts of the earth unto which they are scattered, and be restored to their own land. There is no region in the world, to which an access from all parts is so open. By means of the Black sea, and the Mediterranean, there is an easy approach from all parts of Europe, from a great part of Africa, and from America. By means of the Red sea, and the Persian gulf, and the well-known roads from thence, there is an approach from the rest of Africa, from the East Indies, and from the Isles. And lastly, by means of the Caspian, the Lake or Sea of Baykall, and the near communication of many great rivers, the approach is facilitated from all the northern parts of Tartary. In

 short,

All these matters are clearly predicted by the prophets. *The manner*, in which they will be accomplished, affords a vast field for conjecture; but *their accomplishment itself* is no vain speculation: in God's own good time, *that* must take place: *how* it will take place, we know not *beyond what is revealed.* Respecting the yet future and mysterious *Millennium*, the less that is said the better. That it will be a season of great holiness and great blessedness, is certain; and that "the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom *under* "*the whole heaven*, shall be given to the people of "the saints of the Most High*;" when that season

"short, if a skilful geographer were to sit down to devise the fittest spot on the globe for universal empire; or rather, a spot, "where all the great intercourses of human life should universally centre; and from whence the extended effects of universal benevolence and good-will should flow to all parts of the "earth; and where universal and united homage should be paid, "with one consent, to the Most High; he could not find another so well suited, in all circumstances, as that which is with "emphasis called *The Holy Land.* These observations perhaps "may not deserve great weight, but they ought not to be wholly "neglected; especially when it is considered, how many passages "of Scripture there are, which plainly declare, that the time "*shall* at length come, when Zion shall be the joy of the whole "earth." Note to Hymns to the Supreme Being, p. 126.

* Dan. vii. 27. The expression *under the whole heaven* plainly shews, that the prophet is speaking of an *earthly* kingdom: and this kingdom is evidently the same as *the apocalyptic millennian kingdom;* which, in a similar manner, is to succeed the tyranny of *the ten-horned beast*, and which is to be seated, not in *heaven*, but upon *earth.* Compare Rev. xx.

commences,

commences, is equally uncertain: further than this we know nothing *definitely*. "The secret things "belong unto the Lord our God: but those things "which are revealed belong unto us and to our "children for ever, that we may do all the words "of this Law*."

* Deut. xxix. 29.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

FROM what has been said we learn, that *the* 1260 *days* are *the appointed hour of the powers of darkness*, the space of time allotted for the prevalence both of *Popery* and *Mohammedism* and for the short-lived triumph of *Antichrist*.

I. In *the year* 606, *the saints* seem to have been first given by the secular power of *the Roman empire* into the hand of *the Papal little horn*; consequently from this year *the* 1260 *days* ought most probably to be computed. *The desolating revolt of the East* however, after its completion by *the rise of Mohammedism*, is destined to prevail during the same space of time, that *the Papal little horn* is permitted to reign. Hence, in order that *the two periods* of 1260 *years each* might be made to synchronize together, it seemed necessary, that *Mohammedism, the completion of the eastern revolt*, should first make its appearance in the very year that *the saints* were delivered into the hand of *the Papal little horn*. Accordingly we find, that it *did* first

first make its appearance in that year; for *the year* 606 is the most proper date of *the Mohammedan imposture*, because in that year Mohammed first retired to the cave of Hera.

1. *The Papal horn* arose, as we have seen, at the precise time when Daniel predicted that it should arise; namely, while *the Roman empire* was falling asunder, and while *ten independent kingdoms* were springing up out of its ruins. It arose gradually and almost imperceptibly among and behind *the ten horns* of *the fourth beast; three of which* were successively eradicated before it, and by their fall gave it an opportunity of becoming a temporal no less than a spiritual power. For some time after its rise it was only an ecclesiastical *kingdom:* but that kingdom, though small at first, continued perpetually to increase in size; until, in *the year* 606, when *the Pope* was declared *Universal Bishop and supreme head of the catholic Church*, it became a mighty ecclesiastical *empire*. At this era, which seems to be the proper date of *the 1260 years*, and which is the epoch when *the old pagan Roman beast* that had been mortally wounded by *the sword of the Spirit* under *his sixth head* revived under *the same sixth head* by setting up a spiritual tyrant in the Church and by relapsing into idolatry; St. John first introduces upon the stage *the power*, which Daniel symbolizes by *the little horn of the fourth beast. That power* however was now become *an universal empire*, instead of being, what it had hitherto been, *a limited ecclesiastical kingdom*. Hence the Apostle, instead

instead of representing *the ten-horned beast* as having likewise *a little horn;* describes him as attended by *a second beast*, whose character precisely answers to that of *the little horn.* By the instigation of this corrupt spiritual power, *the ten-horned beast*, or *the secular Roman empire*, wages war with *the saints* during the period of *the* 1260 *days*, through the instrumentality either of *his last head* or *his ten horns.*

2. *The desolating revolt of the East* was completed by *the rise of Mohammedism* in the same year that *the Papal horn* became *an universal spiritual empire.* Soon afterwards, it acquired its predicted character of *a little horn of the Macedonian he-goat;* and, agreeably to the prophecy, waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. In the course of its progress, it cast down many of the symbolical *stars*, or *Christian pastors*, to the ground; took away *the daily sacrifice* of praise and thanksgiving; polluted *the spiritual sanctuary;* and presumed to magnify itself against even *the Prince of princes.* As for its character, it was notorious for trampling upon the truth; for prospering in a wonderful manner; for making its appearance, exactly when *the two great revolts*, eastern and western, were completed; for teaching dark sentences; for being mighty not through its own unaided power; for exterminating its opponents with the utmost barbarity; for persecuting with peculiar violence the people of the Holy Ones; for advancing itself by craft;

craft; and for destroying many while in a state of negligent security.

In the Apocalypse a more full account is given of *the agents* by whom *this apostate religion* should be propagated, *A fallen star* opens *the bottomless pit*, and lets out *the destroying king of the locusts*. *These locusts* are permitted to continue their ravages during the space of *five prophetic months or* 150 *years;* which is found from history to be the precise period allotted to the continuation of the Saracenic incursions. *The locusts* are succeeded by an immense body of *horsemen* under *four leaders* from the banks of *the Euphrates;* whose commission is to kill *a third part of men* or *the Eastern Roman empire*, which their predecessors *the Saracenic locusts* had only been permitted to torment. History accordingly teaches us, that *the Saracens* were succeeded by *the Turks:* who came under *four leaders* from the banks of *the Euphrates;* whose armies consisted almost entirely of *cavalry;* and who subverted *the Constantinopolitan empire*, which *the Saracens*, severely as they harassed it, had never been able to effect.

The Mohammedan little horn itself or *the religion of Mohammed*, is to prevail to the end of 2400 *years* from *the founding of the second temple*, either in the latter end of *the first* or in the beginning of *the second year* of Cyrus, by *the Jews* then recently brought back from Babylon; which is found to carry down exactly to *the year* 1866, and thus to allow 1260 *years* for the triumphs of

Moham-

Mohammedism, reckoning from its commencement in *the year* 606.

3. After the era of *the Reformation*, and in *the last days* of atheism and insubordination, but previous to the commencement of *the time of the end*, *the infidel king* was destined to arise: that *Antichrist*, who was alike to deny both the Father and the Son; that audacious tyrant, who should magnify himself above every god, who should speak marvellous things against the God of gods, who should neither regard the God of his fathers nor the Desire of women, who should nevertheless honour a foreign god and acknowledge gods protectors, and who should be allowed in the main to prosper, though his career might experience some occasional interruptions, until *the period of the defiance* should be finished.

As the contemporary rise and progress of *Popery* and *Mohammedism* is described in the Apocalypse under *the two first woe-trumpets*, so the appearance of *the great Antichrist* is announced by *the third*. With respect to the epoch of that *third woe*, we are taught, that it begins to sound *quickly* after *the second* has ceased to sound, and that the closing primary event under *the second* is *an earthquake* which throws down *a tenth part of the great city*. *This last woe*, which extends beyond the termination of *the* 1260 *years* at least to the end of *the seventh vial*, if not to the commencement of *the Millennium*, comprehends the periods of *the harvest* and *the vintage*.

Thus,

Thus, *quickly* after the last shock of *the earthquake* in *the year* 1688 and after the termination of *the second woe* in *the year* 1698, we have seen, in *the year* 1789, the manifestation of a terrific monster, which alike set at defiance the laws both of God and man. We have beheld scenes of carnage and impiety, which well deserve to be ushered in by *a distinct woe-trumpet*, and which may justly claim to themselves the title of *a harvest of God's wrath.* These scenes have at length passed away, like the distempered and fantastic visions of a sick man; and *the sun of military tyranny* has begun to scorch the irreclaimable inhabitants of *the Papal Roman empire* with an intolerable heat. The madness of *the harvest* therefore is past; and we must expect in due season the commencement of *the vintage*, in which the enemies of God will be finally destroyed for ever.

II. At present we are living under *the fourth vial**: and, from the great length of time which both *Popery* and *Mohammedism* have continued, we cannot be very far removed from the end of *the* 1260 *days;* whatever be the precise year, from which they ought to be computed. The year, which I have fixed upon for their date, is *the year* 606; a year marked by so singular a combination of circumstances, that I know not how any other can with equal propriety be selected. If then I

* I have intimated above, that *the fifth vial* has probably been poured out since this was written. Aug. 3. 1814.

be

be right in my opinion, we are now removed but little more than 60 *years* from the commencement of *the time of the end* and of *the vintage of God's wrath**. Be this however as it may, we are undoubtedly living in *the last days of blasphemous infidelity*, in that awful period which is *the peculiar reign of Antichrist*. The signs of the times all concur to teach us, that we are fast approaching towards the catastrophè of the great drama. We have seen the unexpected union of *Infidelity* and *Popery;* an union, no doubt preparatory to *the predicted final league of the beast, the false prophet, and the kings of the papal earth.* We have seen measures taken, as it were, towards making *the atheistical king* the *last head of the beast*†. We have seen *Palestine*, the predicted stage on which *Antichrist* with his congregated vassals is doomed to perish, brought forward in a remarkable manner to public notice, and becoming at once a subject of political discussion and an object of hostile invasion. We have seen *the kings* devouring the flesh of *the great whore*, and making her naked and desolate, though her spiritual empire over the minds of men still continues‡. We have seen,

* This was written in *the year* 1804.

† There is reason to believe, that *the atheistical king* is now become *the last* or *Carlovingian head of the beast.* June 10, 1806.

‡ She is now completely deprived of her temporal dominion, August, 1808.

This, more recently, has been restored to her; and probably, ere long, she will be again deprived of it. Aug. 3, 1814.

and

and may now see, the rapid decline of *the Ottoman empire*, preparatory to the final complete exhaustion of *the mystic Euphrates* under *the sixth vial*. And we have seen of late years, what I cannot but consider as at least one of the minor signs of the times, an unusual and laudable attention paid, in this protestant country, to the predictions of the ancient prophets*. Although the book be sealed, and will not be fully understood, till *the time of the end:* yet, as that time is now approaching, many run to and fro and knowledge is increased. Of the wicked indeed, of those who are either members of *the great Apostasy* or have been tainted with the blasphemous impieties of *Antichrist*, none shall understand; but the spiritually wise children of *the symbolical woman*, they who profess the same evangelical principles as those who perished at the era of *the Reformation* in trying, in purging, and in making white, their apostate brethren, these shall understand †.

As

* I may now additionally mention two other very prominent signs: the institution of a Society for the express purpose of converting the Jews; and the commencement and growing prosperity of a gigantic attempt to offer the Scriptures to all nations in their several languages. I believe them both to be instruments in the hand of God to prepare the way for the future universal diffusion of the Gospel. Aug. 3. 1814.

† Compare Daniel xii. 3, 9, 10. with xi. 35. *The wise*, here mentioned, are evidently the same as *those men of understanding*, some of whom, at the time of *the Reformation*, should perish in attempting to propagate the truth. To these spiritually wise children

As yet we have beheld no signs of *the restoration of Judah:* nor, to all appearance, shall we behold any,

children alone shall it be given of their heavenly Father to understand the signs of the times: their opponents, through ignonance or contempt of them, will suddenly pull down swift destruction on their own heads. I know not any better comment upon the words of the prophet than the sciolist Voltaire's pert remark, that the great Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment on the Revelation, to console mankind for his superiority over them in other respects. With regard to *an attention paid to the prophecies being one of the signs of the times*, the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton and Bp. Horsley will at least exempt *me* from the charge of fancifulness in enumerating it among them. "Amongst the "interpreters of the last age," says Sir Isaac, "there is scarce "one of note who hath not made some discoveries worth know-"ing: and thence I seem to gather, that God is about opening "these mysteries." In a similar manner, the Bishop remarks, that the character of *the maritime people* destined to take the lead in *the restoration of Judah* "seems to describe some Christian "country, where the prophecies, relating to the latter ages, will "meet with particular attention; where the literal sense of those, "which promise the restoration of the Jewish people, will be "strenuously upheld: and where these will be so successfully "expounded, as to be the principal means, by God's blessing, "of removing the veil from the hearts of the Israelites." It cannot but be pleasing to the serious reader to observe the different estimation in which prophecy is now held throughout the protestant kingdom of England, from what it was by the Jews previous to the sacking of Jerusalem. We are informed by Josephus, that in his days it was no uncommon thing to hear his hardened countrymen ridicule the oracles of their ancient prophets, which they had already defied, by crucifying the Messiah. Κατεπατειτο μεν ουν πας αυτοις θεσμος ανθρωπων, εγελατο δε τα θεια, και τους μεν προφητων θεσμους ὡσπερ αγυρτικας λογοποιϊας εχλευαζον (Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. 4. c. 6.). What a singular resemblance there is between

any, till *the three times and a half* draw very near to their termination *.

But, when that famous period shall have expired, then will commence the wars of *Antichrist* with *the kings of the south and the north*, and the restoration of *the unconverted Jews* through his instrumentality. Then will the Lord call unto the land spreading wide the shadow of its wings, which is beyond the rivers of Cush, accustomed to send messengers by sea, even in quick-sailing vessels upon the surface of the waters. Then shall the swift messengers

tween this state of the Jews, and that of the French at the time of their boasted Revolution!

* Since this was written, Buonapartè has begun to assemble *the Jews* in a grand council at Paris. Whether it will lead to their restoration, time alone can determine: at present we have certainly no right to *say* that it will. The *avowed* plan of the usurper is to incorporate them with his other subjects: his *real* plan *may* be something different. It is said that *the Jews* of Frankfort have impiously hailed him as their expected Messiah. Though I do not suppose the *individual* Buonapartè to be *Antichrist*, it is worthy of notice that Popish commentators have adopted the belief of some of the fathers that, whenever *Antichrist* should appear, *the Jews* would acknowledge him as their Messiah, and attempt to procure their restoration by his instrumentality. See Calmet's Dict. Vox *Antichrist*—Cornelius à Lapide's Comment. in Dan. vii. Rev. xiii. Nov. 20, 1806.

The late counter-revolution in France has, for the present at least, put an end to the projects of Buonapartè relative to *the Jews*, of whatever nature they may have been. This increases the probability of my being right, in supposing *the* 1260 *days* to expire in *the year* 1866: for, if such an arrangement be the proper one, any attempt of the present day to restore *the Jews* is evidently premature. Aug. 3. 1814.

go unto a nation, dragged away and plucked, unto a people wonderful from the beginning hitherto, a nation expecting, expecting, and trampled under foot, whose land rivers have spoiled. Then shall all the inhabitants of the world, and dwellers upon earth, see the lifting up, as it were, of a banner upon the mountains; and shall hear the sounding, as it were, of a trumpet. In spite of the opposition of *the atheistico-papal confederacy*, the *great maritime power* of the day shall take the lead in *the restoration of the converted of Judah:* while the enemies of the Lord, notwithstanding their invasion of Palestine, and notwithstanding their temporary success against Jerusalem, bent only upon the accomplishment of their own schemes, and unconsciously subject to the influence of Satanical delusion *, will madly rush on to their own destruction in the valley of Megiddo, in the region between the two seas, the region whose limits extend 1600 furlongs.

On the whole, it is reasonable to conclude, that the time is not very far distant, when the symbolical *heaven* and *earth* shall pass away, and when *the personal Word* shall begin to tread *the wine-press* of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. Never were there more awful times than these of *the third woe-trumpet.* All civilized government has been in a state of commotion; and the powers of Europe have been shaken to their very centre. The end however is not yet. The calamities of

* Rev. xvi. 13, 14.

the

the harvest are but the harbingers of those which shall take place under *the last vial* during the period of *the vintage.*

For ourselves, we have only to labour, through the grace of God and the assistance of his Holy Spirit, that we may be prepared to meet the Lord at his coming. Death, whensoever it shall arrest our progress, will assuredly be the end of the world to each of us. We pervert the study of prophecy, if we make it only a mere curious speculation. We ought rather so to read the oracles of God, as to profit by them in all holiness of life and conversation. Neither a hearty reprobation of the cruelties and corruptions of *Popery;* nor an abhorrence of the impious imposture of *Mohammedism;* nor a detestation of the diabolical principles of *Antichrist;* are alone sufficient to prepare us for the kingdom of heaven. We must beware lest we have a name that we live, and are dead. We must be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain that are ready to die; lest our works be not found perfect before God *. It will be but small comfort to each of us as individuals, that our country is preserved amidst the wreck of nations to fulfil the future high purposes of the Almighty, if we through our own negligence fall short of the promised reward. In fine, our eternal interests will be but little benefited by the study of prophecy, unless we pursue it in the

* Rev. iii. 1, 2.

manner which the apostle himself hath proposed to us. " Blessed is he that readeth, and they that " hear the words of this prophecy, and *keep those* " *things which are written therein:* for the time is " is at hand*."

* Rev. i. 3.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

WHEN the first edition of this Dissertation was published, I had not had an opportunity of perusing the recently printed work of Archdeacon Woodhouse on the Apocalypse; but it would be unpardonable, considering the plan which I have adopted, to suffer a second edition to make its appearance without noticing it. The thanks of every biblical student are due to the learned author for his very clear and convincing *Dissertation on the divine Origin of the Apocalypse*, and likewise for many valuable remarks and much sound criticism contained in his notes on the book. *I* feel myself *peculiarly* gratified and interested at finding several of my own positions maintained and established by a writer, with whom I have not the honour of being acquainted, and whose work I had not read at the time when my own was published. Thus, we are both agreed, that *Mohammedism* constitutes *one half of a grand apostasy from the purity of Christianity**; that the *apocalyptic*

* The position, that *Mohammedism is a Christian apostasy*, is so ably treated by the Archdeacon, that I cannot refrain from strengthening what I have already said on the subject with his quotations and arguments.

" *Mohammed did not pretend to deliver any new religion, but to revive the old* " *one.—He allowed both the Old and the New Testaments, and that both Moses* " *and Jesus were prophets sent from God* (Prideaux's Life of Mohammed, " p. 18, 19.); *that Jesus, son of Mary, is the* word *and a spirit sent from God,* " *a redeemer of all that believe in him* (Sale's Koran, p. 19, 80, 65. Ockley's " Hist. of Saracens II.). Mohammed represents himself as the Paraclete or " Comforter sent by Jesus Christ, John xvi. 7. (Koran, p. 165.). So, in " Mohammed's ascent to heaven, as invented in the Koran, while the patri-

 " arch

apocalyptic great city denotes, not merely *the town of Rome*, but

" archs and prophets confess their inferiority to him by intreating his prayers, " in the seventh heaven he sees Jesus, whose superiority the false prophet ac- " knowledges by commending himself to his prayers (Sale's Koran, p. 17. " Prideaux's Life of Mohammed, p. 55.). *Faith in the divine books is a neces-* " *sary article of the Mohammedan creed; and among these is the Gospel given* " *to Issa or Jesus, which they assert to be corrupted by the Christians.—If* " *any Jew is willing to become a Mohammedan, he must first believe in Christ:* " *and this question is asked him, Dost thou believe that Christ was born of a* " *virgin by the blast* (i. e. inspiration) *of God, and that he was the last of* " *the Jewish prophets?* If he answers in the affirmative, he is made a Mo- " hammedan (Reland on Moham. pref. 25, 11.). *Mohammed arose to esta-* " *blish a new religion, which came pretty near the Jewish, and was not entirely* " *different from that of several sects of Christians, which got him a great many* " *followers* (Leibnitz's Letter. 1706.). *The impostor Mohammed confessed that* " *Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary, that he was the word of God sent from* " *heaven, the Spirit of God declared by the miracles of the Gospel, the prophet* " *of God, whose office it was to deliver the Gospel and teach the way of truth,* " *who is to come to judgment and to destroy Antichrist and convert the Jews.* " *Thus also he taught, that the Gospel of Christ, and the Law of Moses, and all* " *the prophets, are to be believed. And thus he was better inclined to the Chris-* " *tians than to the Jews* (Spanheim. Introd. ad hist. sæc. vii. p. 609.). *Mo-* " *hammedism began as* a christian heresy, *acknowledging Christ for a prophet,* " *a greater than Moses, born of a Virgin, the Word of God* (Ricaut's Ottoman " empire, p. 138.). Sale asserts the Mohammedan religion to be not only " *a Christian heresy,* but *an improvement upon the very corrupt idolatrous system* " *of the Jews and Christians of those times* (Prelim. p. 15.). Joseph Mede " affirms, that the Mohammedans are nearer to Christianity than many of the " ancient heresies, the Cerinthians, Gnosticts, Manichees. (Works, p. 645.). " *Whatever good is to be found in the Mohammedan religion (and some good doc-* " *trines and precepts there undeniably are in it), is in no small measure owing to* " *Christianity: for Mohammedism is a borrowed system, made up for the most* " *part of Judaism and Christianity; and, if it be considered in the most favour-* " *able view, might possibly be accounted* a sort of Christian heresy. *If the* " *Gospel had never been preached, it may be questioned whether Mohammedism* " *would have existed* (Dr. Jortin's first Charge.). *The Mussulmans are already* " *a sort of heterodox Christians. They are Christians, if Locke reasons justly,* " *because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and* " *miracles, of the Messiah: but they are heterodox in denying vehemently his* " *character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whose unity and* " *attributes they entertain and express the most awful ideas, while they consider* " *our doctrine as perfect blasphemy, and insist that our copies of the Scriptures*

" have

but *a corrupt communion* *; that *the holy city* is not *the literal Jerusalem*, but *the Christian church* †; that *the first beast* of the apocalypse is not *the Papacy*, but *the Roman empire* ‡; that *the deadly wound of this beast* denotes *his conversion to Christianity* under Constantine, and that *his revival* means *his relapsing into idolatry* §; that *the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast* cannot be the same as *the first apocalyptic beast*, in other words that it cannot be the same as *the beast himself* of which it is only *a member* (as some commentators have supposed), but that it is the same as *the second apocalyptic beast* or *the false prophet* ‖; that

" *have been corrupted both by Jews and Christians.* Sir William Jones in " Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 63.

" These are such testimonies as have occurred to me in no very extensive " course of reading. They are derived from authors, who for the most part " enjoyed favourable opportunities of examining the Mohammedan tenets; " and they exhibit that religion as arising upon the basis of true religion, cor- " rupted, even like the papal, to serve the purposes of a worldly and diabo- " lical tyranny. In the Mohammedan religion are these articles, all evi- " dently derived from the Christian, and constituting in it a great superiority " above any thing that paganism or mere philosophy have been able to pro- " duce: the belief of the existence of *one* all-wise, all-good, all-powerful, " God; of the immortality of the soul; of future rewards and punishments " to be distributed by *Jesus*; of the acceptance of prayer, of self-humiliation, " of almsgiving; of the obligation to morality in almost all its branches. " Take from Mohammedism one article, in which it differs from all religions " generally admitted to be Christian, *the belief of Mohammed's divine mission*; " and little will then be found in it, which may not be discovered in the pro- " fession of many acknowledged Christians. Nay, perhaps it may appear, " that the creeds of two bodies of Christians will supply every thing which " is to be found in Mohammedism, excepting belief in the pretended prophet " of Mecca.

" On the whole, when we consider the origin of Mohammedism, and its " near affinity to corrupted Christianity; when we reflect also on the amaz- " ing extent of this superstitious domination, which occupies nearly as large " a portion of the globe, as that possessed by Christians; comprising vast " regions in ancient Greece and Asia Minor, in Syria, in Persia, in the In- " dies, in Tartary, in Egypt, and Africa, which were once Christian: we shall " readily admit, that, if not a Christian *heresy*, it is at least a Christian *apos-* " *tasy.*" Apocalypse translated, p. 365—370.

* p. 293, 301, 412, 418. † p. 286. ‡ p. 329—338, 422—432.
§ p. 336, 345, 423, 428, 435. ‖ p. 352—356.

the

the deadly wound and revival of the first apocalyptic beast is enigmatically described by the phrase *was, and is not, and yet is* *; that *the time of the end* denotes *the expiration of the* 1260 *years* †; that *the apocalyptic dragon* cannot mean *pagan Rome*, but must typify *the devil* ‡; that the period of 1260 years, or at

* p. 426—428. The Archdeacon argues very forcibly against those who with Mede would ascribe the fulfilment of this mysterious phrase to the age in which the vision was delivered. "These words of the angel, describing the "beast, *He was, and is not, and yet is*, appear to me in no wise applicable to "the tyranny seated at Rome *at the time of the vision, when the angel spake "them*. This was the time of the Emperor Domitian, when a cruel persecu- "tion raged against the Church, when St. John himself was actually suffering "banishment in Patmos, *for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus*. Such a "time can in no wise agree with the representation, that the beast *was, and is "not*. It is therefore probable, that the time, in which the beast is said to have "been, and not to be, and yet to be, is the time when he ariseth again after "his wound, to exercise dominion under the direction of the harlot. This "time was not arrived when St. John saw the vision in Patmos: but, though "future in this sense, it was present in another, as belonging to the vision "then under exhibition: for the beast was then present in exhibition before "St. John, and in the act of re-ascending to power. This will appear more "probable to those, who read forward from this passage to the end of the 8th "verse, where the admiration of the inhabitants of the earth is spoken of as "yet future; and yet this admiration is fixed upon this same object—the "beast which was, and is not, and yet is."

† p. 281.

‡ This point is excellently discussed by the Archdeacon. "On consulting "the writings of the commentators most approved in this country, I find, that "by *the dragon* is generally understood *the pagan and persecuting power of Im- "perial Rome*. But, I trust, a few observations will shew the fallacy of this "notion.

"Where an interpretation is expressly given in the vision, as in ch. i. 20; "v. 6, 9; xvii. 7; that interpretation *must* be used as the key to the mys- "tery, in preference to all interpretations suggested by the imagination of "man. Now in the 9th verse of this chapter (Rev. xii.) such an interpre- "tation is presented; the dragon is there expressly declared *to be that an- "cient serpent called the devil*; known by the name of Διαβολος in the Greek, "and of *Satan* in the Hebrew; *who deceiveth the whole world*. Here are his "names, and his acknowledged character. No words can more completely "express them. No Roman emperor, nor succession of emperors, can an- "swer to this description. The same dragon appears again in chap. xx. 2,

and

at least *a* period of 1260 years, ought most probably to be computed from the year 606 *; and consequently that we are rapidly approaching to the catastrophe of the great apostatic drama †. In these points I have the satisfaction of finding myself

" and (as it were to prevent mistake) he is here described in *the very same* " *words.* But this re-appearance of the same dragon is in a very late period " of the apocalyptic history; long *after* the expiration of the 1260 days or " years; and even *after* the wild beast and false prophet, who derived their " power from the dragon during this period, are come to their end. And " the dragon is upon the scene long after these times, and continues in ac- " tion even at the end of another long period, a period of a thousand " years. He there pursues his ancient artifices, *deceiving the nations*, even " till his final catastrophe, in ch. xx. 10, when the warfare of the Church " is finished. Can this dragon then be *an emperor of Rome?* or *any race,* " *or dynasty, of emperors?* Can he be any other than that ancient and " eternal enemy of the Christian Church, who in this, as in all other scrip- " tural accounts, is represented as the original contriver of *all* the mischief " which shall befall it. In this drama, he acts the same consistent part " from the beginning to the end. He is introduced to early notice as warring " against the Church (ch. ii. 10, 13.)—In the succeeding conflicts the " Church is attacked by his *agents;* by the wild beast and false prophet, " who derive their power from him: and at length he himself is described, " as leading the nations against the camp of the saints. Nothing appears " more plain than the meaning of this symbol. The only appearances, " which may seem to favour the application of it to Imperial Rome are, the " seven crowned heads, and the ten horns of the dragon. But—the seven " mountains and ten horns, of the latter Roman empire are fitly attributed " to Satan, because during the period of 1260 years, and perhaps beyond " it, he makes use of the Roman empire, its capital city, and ten kings " or kingdoms, as the instruments of his successful attack on the Christian " Church.—The dragon therefore appears to me, as he did to Venerable " Bede eleven centuries ago, to be *Diabolus, potentia terrent mundi armatus.*" p. 324—326.

* p. 360. The Archdeacon thinks, that there are *more* than one period of 1260 years (p. 339—344.). He by no means appears to me to prove his point.

† Nearly all the more recent commentators on prophecy, with whose writings I am acquainted, seem to agree in the belief that we cannot be far removed from the end of *the* 1260 *years*. The very *phraseology* used by the Archdeacon most forcibly brought to my recollection a conversation which I once had

myself supported by the authority of the Archdeacon; but in various other matters I am unable to agree with him.

The first objections, which I have to urge, are of a *general* nature; afterwards I may descend to *particulars*.

I. My *general* objections are to *the Archdeacon's principle of applying the apocalyptic prophecies*, when carried to the length to which *he* carries it; and to *his system of arranging the Apocalypse itself*, on which a great part of his subsequent interpretations is founded.

1. He conceives the prophecies of the Apocalypse "to be "applicable principally, if not solely, *to the fates and fortunes* "*of the Christian Church**." Agreeably to this system, he interprets *the six first seals*, and *the four first trumpets*, as relating solely to ecclesiastical matters; and rejects at once both the usual chronological arrangement of them, and the almost universal supposition that *the four first trumpets* predict *the calamities brought upon the Roman empire by the incursions of the various Gothic tribes* and *the final complete subversion of its western division*. The principle is undoubtedly a just one if adopted with moderation; but the Archdeacon does not advance any arguments in favour of carrying it to the length which he does, that are at all satisfactory to my own mind. The affairs of the Church, both Levitical and Christian, have been more or less connected, from very early ages, with empires and kingdoms hostile to the cause of true religion: hence, although the Church is the *main* end of prophecy, yet, circumstanced as it has always been, it seems nearly impossible to foretell the fates of the Church without likewise foretelling the fates of the great powers connected with it. Nevertheless, the Church being the *ultimate* scope of pro-

had on this subject with the late Bp. Horsley. His Lordship avowed it to be his opinion, that, before *the present century* elapsed, the prophecies respecting *the destruction of the Roman beast* and *the overthrow of the Anticristian faction* would be no longer a sealed book. "The days will come," says the Archdeacon, "and seem at no very great distance (*the present century* may "perhaps disclose them), when, the beast and false prophet being removed, "and Babylon sunk for ever, the devil, that ancient foe, shall be deprived of "his wonted influence." P. 470.

* Pref. p. xiii, xiv.

phecy,

phecy, we have no occasion to go into "the wide field of *uni-* "*versal* history*" to search for doubtful interpretations: we must confine ourselves to that portion of it which *alone* is connected with the Church. Accordingly we find, that no nations are particularized in prophecy excepting those with which the Church either has been or will be concerned. Moab, Edom, Amalek, Nineveh, Tyre, Egypt, the four great empires, and a yet future confederacy denominated *Gog and Magog*, are all very fully noticed; while the mighty monarchies of China and Hindostan are totally overlooked. Now, when we must acknowledge such to be the case with the Old Testament, why are we to conclude that the apocalyptic predictions are framed upon a different principle? and, since throughout the whole of the Revelation the Church is connected with Daniel's *fourth beast* or *the Roman empire*, why are we to suppose that that empire is never spoken of except when *the ten-horned beast* is specially introduced, that is to say, except during the period of the 1260 *years*?

The Archdeacon's interpretation of *the seals* I shall consider hereafter; at present I shall confine myself to that of *the trumpets*. *The four first* of these he will not allow to relate to *the overthrow of the Western empire*, on the ground that the subject of the Apocalypse is *the fates and fortunes of the Christian Church*†. But are not those fates and fortunes most closely connected with *the overthrow of the Western empire*? According to the usual interpretation of *the four first trumpets* and *the tyranny of the two beasts during the period of the* 1260 *years*, every thing appears in strict chronological order, and the one succession of events arises naturally out of the other. St. Paul teaches us, that, when *he that letted* or *the Western empire* should be taken away, then should *the man of sin* be revealed. Now what is the particular portion of the Apocalypse which we are now considering, except an enlarged repetition of St. Paul's prediction. *He that letted* is taken away; and *the man of sin* forthwith rears his head:—*the Western empire* is taken away by the operation of *the four first trumpets*; and *the great apostasy of* 1260 *days*, the reign of the

* Pref. p. xv. † p. 218—222.

false

false prophet and his temporal supporter, shortly commences. The one is preparatory to the other: *the four trumpets* are merely the prelude to what may be termed the grand subject of the Apocalypse, *a wonderful tyranny exercised within the Church itself by the upholders of the Apostasy, and a contemporary Apostasy in the eastern world scarcely less wonderful than that in the western.* St. Paul and St. John are perfectly in unison: they alike connect *the downfall of the empire* with *the fates of the Church.* Thus, even independent of the Archdeacon's chronological arrangement, which shall presently be discussed, I see not why the old interpretation of *the four trumpets*, or at least *the great outlines* of that interpretation, ought to be rejected.

The Archdeacon however brings an argument against such an interpretation of *the four trumpets* from the *homogeneity* of all *the seven trumpets.* He insists most justly, that, what the *nature* of one is, *the nature* of them all must be: and observes that Mede, in order to make them homogeneal, interprets *the fifth* and *the sixth trumpets* as relating to *the attacks made upon the empire by the Saracens and Turks*, as he had already referred *the four first* to *the attacks previously made upon the empire by the Gothic tribes.* But he adds, that *the seventh trumpet* announces "most clearly "the victory obtained by Christ and his Church, not over the "Roman empire, but over the powers of hell, and of Antichrist, "and a corrupt world; over the dragon, the beast, the false "prophet, and in process of time (for the seventh trumpet con- "tinues to the end) over death and hell. If then, under the "seventh trumpet, the warfare of the Christian Church be so "clearly represented (and in this all writers are agreed), what "are we to think of the six? How must *they* be interpreted, so "as to appear homogeneal? Are they to be accounted, with "Mede and his followers, the successive shocks, by which *the "Roman empire* fell under the Goths and Vandals? *Homoge- "neity* forbids. They *must* therefore be supposed to contain *the "warfare of the Christian Church.* And this warfare may be "successful under the seventh and last trumpet, when it had "been unsuccessful before, yet the *homogeneity* be consistently "preserved. For the question is not concerning *the success*, but "concerning *the warfare.* And the trumpets may be deemed "homogeneal,

" homogeneal, if they all represent *the same warfare* (viz. of the " powers of hell, and of the Antichristian world, against the " Church of Christ), whatever may be the event *." That the object of *the seventh trumpet* is to introduce the victory obtained by Christ and his Church, and to usher in the happy period of the Millennium, few will be disposed to deny: but the question is, *how* is this desirable object accomplished? The Archdeacon himself allows, by the triumph of the Church over those instrument of hell, *Antichrist, the beast*, and *the false prophet*. Now, whether I be right or wrong in my own notions of *Antichrist*, what is this but a triumph over *the Roman empire* and *the apostate communion inseparably connected with it*? Accordingly we find, that *the seventh trumpet*, after conducting us through *six of its vials*, all of which are poured out upon God's enemies, magnificently introduces under *the seventh vial* the judgment of *the great harlot*, the downfall of *Babylon*, and the complete destruction of *the beast* along with *the false prophet* and his *confederated kings;* in other words, *the overthrow of the papal Roman empire both secular and temporal*. How then is the *homogeneity of the trumpets* violated by Mede's exposition? Under *the four first*, the western empire falls: under *the two next*, the eastern empire follows the fate of its more ancient half; under *the last, the revived beast* or *papal empire* is utterly broken, and prepares a way by its overthrow for the millennian reign of the Messiah. In short, as matters appear to me, if we argue backwards from *the seventh trumpet, homogeneity*, instead of forbidding, *requires* us to refer all *the six first trumpets* to different attacks upon *the Roman empire*, the *final* ruin of which is ushered in by *the seventh*.

2. But my objection to the Archdeacon's *arrangement of the Apocalypse* on which a great part of his subsequent interpretations necessarily depends, is infinitely stronger than to *his very limited system of applying the prophecies*. It appears to me to be so extremely arbitrary, and to introduce so much confusion into *the three septenaries* of *the seals, the trumpets*, and *the vials*, that, if it be adopted, I see not what certainty we can ever have, that a clue to the right interpretation of the Apocalypse is attainable.

* p. 222.

The

The Archdeacon supposes, that *the first six seals* give a general sketch of the contents of the whole book, and that they extend from *the time of our Saviour's ascension* even to *the great day of the Lord's vengeance*, a description of which day is exhibited under *the sixth seal**. Having thus arrived at the consummation of all things, how are we to dispose of *the seventh seal?* The Archdeacon conceives, that the *same* history of the Church begins anew under it; that the connection, which had hitherto united *the seals*, is broken; that *the seventh seal* stands apart, containing all *the seven trumpets;* and that the renewed history, comprehended under this *seventh seal*, begins "from the earliest "times of Christianity, or, to speak more properly, from the "period when our Lord left the world in person, and committed "the Church to the guidance of his apostles. From this time "the first seal takes it commencement; from this also, the first "trumpet†." Hence it is manifest, since *the seventh seal* brings us back, for the purpose of introducing *the seven trumpets*, to the very same period at which *the first seal* was opened, that *the opening of the seventh seal* synchronizes, in the judgment of the Archdeacon, with *the opening of the first seal*, and that *the seventh seal* singly comprehends exactly the same space of time as *all the six first seals* conjointly.

The seventh seal then introduces and contains within itself *all the seven trumpets*, the *first six of which* constitute the Archdeacon's second series of prophetic history, as *the first six seals* had constituted his first series: and these two serieses are in a great measure, though not altogether, commensurate; for, though they both alike begin from *the ascension of our Lord*, *the six seals* carry us to *the day of judgment*, whereas *the six trumpets* only carry us to the end of *the* 1260 *years*‡.

The third series is of course that of *the vials*, which the Archdeacon arranges under *the seventh trumpet*, as he had previously arranged *the seven trumpets* under *the seventh seal.* But where is the place of *the seventh trumpet*, and consequently of *the first vial?* The Archdeacon does not bring back *the seventh trumpet* and *the first vial* to *the ascension of our Lord*, as he had previously

* p. 135, 174, 196. † p. 197, 200. ‡ p. 273, 274.

brought

brought back *the seventh seal* and *the first trumpet*, but only to the beginning of *the times of the beast*, or *the* 1260 *years*; through the whole of which he supposes *the seventh trumpet* and *its component vials* to extend. He, conceives however, that *the sixth trumpet* introduces *Mohammedism* in *the year* 606, and reaches to *the downfall of Mohummedism* at the close of *the* 1260 *years*. Consequently *the beginning of the seventh trumpet* exactly synchronizes with *the beginning of the sixth trumpet*; but *the seventh* extends beyond *the sixth*, and reaches, like *the sixth seal* and *the seventh seal*, to *the final consummation of all things* *.

In brief, the chronological arrangement of the Archdeacon's three serieses is as follows. The first is that of *the six seals*; and it reaches from *the ascension of our Lord* to *the day of judgment*. The second is that of *the six trumpets*, introduced by and comprehended under *the seventh seal*; and it reaches from *the ascension of our Lord* to *the termination of the* 1260 *years*. The third is that of *the seven vials*, introduced by and comprehended under *the seventh trumpet*; and it reaches from *the commencement of the times of the beast* or *the* 1260 *years* to *the day of judgment*.

Now it is impossible not to see, that the whole of this arrangement is purely arbitrary, and consequently that the various interpretations built upon it must in a great measure be arbitrary likewise. The Apocalypse must either be *one continued prophecy*, like *each* of those delivered by Daniel; in which case (with the single exception, as nearly all commentators are agreed, of the episode contained in the little book) we must admit it, unless we be willing to give up all certainty of interpretation, to be strictly chronological: or it must be *a book containing several perfectly distinct and detached prophecies*, like the *whole* book of Daniel, each of which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, may either exactly synchronize or not exactly synchronize with its fellows. If the former opinion be just, the Archdeacon's scheme immediately falls to the ground; for *then* all *the seven trumpets* must necessarily be posterior in point of time to the opening of all *the seven vials* to the sounding of all *the seven trumpets*. If the latter opinion be just, then the question

* p. 308, 399, 400, 401, 252—273, 274, 359, 360.

is, *how* are we to divide the Apocalypse into distinct prophecies? The only system, that to my own mind at least seems at all plausible, would be to suppose that each of *the three septenaries* of *the seals, the trumpets,* and *the vials,* forms a distinct prophecy. If we divide the Apocalypse at all, we must attend to the Apostle's own arrangement; and *homogeneity* plainly forbids us to separate *the seals* from *the seals, the trumpets* from *the trumpets,* or *the vials* from *the vials.* So again: as *homogeneity* requires us to attend to the Apostle's own arrangement in case of a division, it equally requires us to suppose that these *three distinct prophecies* exactly coincide with each other in point of chronology: otherwise, what commentator shall pretend, without any clue to guide him, to determine the commencement of each? But *the seals,* as all agree, commence either from the ascension of our Lord, or at least from some era in the Apostle's own lifetime: therefore, if we divide the Apocalypse, *homogeneity* requires us to conclude that *the trumpets* and *the vials* commence likewise from the same era. Accordingly I have somewhere met with a commentator, whose work I have not at present by me, and whose name I cannot recollect, that proceeds upon this very principle. He divides the Apocalypse into the three prophecies of *the seals, the trumpets,* and *the vials;* and supposes, that all these prophecies run exactly parallel with each other, extending alike from *the age of St. John* to *the end of the world.* To *this* scheme, when examined in detail, the Archdeacon, as well as myself, will probably see insurmountable objections. Sir Isaac Newton adopts a somewhat different plan. He arranges all *the seven trumpets* under *the seventh seal,* and supposes them chronologically to succeed *the six first seals;* thus making *the seals and the trumpets* one continued prophecy: but, when he arrives at *the vials,* he conceives them to be only *the trumpets repeated;* thus making *the vials* a detached prophecy synchronizing with *the trumpets* *. Nothing can be more manifest in this plan than its arbitrary violation of *homogeneity.* What warrant can we have for asserting, that *the seals* and *the trumpets* form jointly a continued prophecy, but that *the vials* form a distinct separate

* Observ. on the Apoc. p. 254, 293, 295.

prophecy

prophecy synchronizing with that part of the former prophecy which is comprehended under *the trumpets*? But, if Sir Isaac violate *homogeneity* in his arrangement of the Apocalypse, much more surely does the Archdeacon: for he not only separates *the seventh seal* and *the seventh trumpet* from their respective predecessors, but divides the Apocalypse into three distinct prophecies, not one of which exactly synchronizes with another.

A violation of *homogeneity* however is not the only objection to the Archdeacon's arrangement. It seems to me to involve in itself more than one obvious contradiction. For what reason is *the seventh seal* styled *the seventh*? The most natural answer is, because it succeeds *the six first seals*. Now, according to the Archdeacon's arrangement, it does *not* succeed them: for *the opening of it* exactly synchronizes with *the opening of the first*, and therefore of course precedes *the opening of the remaining five*, although the contents of *the seventh seal* itself are chronologically commensurate with the contents of all *the other six*. But, if *the opening of the seventh seal* synchronize with *the opening of the first* and therefore precede *the opening of the remaining five*, with what propriety can it be styled *the seventh seal*? The same remark applies to his arrangement of *the trumpets*. *The first sounding of the seventh trumpet*, which introduces *the seven vials*, exactly synchronizes with *the first sounding of the sixth*; although, in point of duration, *the seventh trumpet* extends beyond *the sixth*. Such, according to the Archdeacon, being the case, why should one be termed *the seventh* rather than *the other*. *The three last trumpets* are moreover styled *the three woes*. How then can *the seventh trumpet* be *the third woe*, if it in a great measure synchronize with *the second woe*? I am aware, that the Archdeacon does not consider *the seventh trumpet* as being *itself* the *third woe*, but only as introducing, at some period or other of its sounding, that *third woe**. Such a supposition however is forbidden by *homogeneity*; for, since *the fifth* and *the sixth trumpets* manifestly introduce at their very earliest blast *the first* and *second woes*, we seem bound to conclude that *the seventh trumpet* should similarly introduce at *its* earliest blast *the third woe*. In this case then *the second* and *the*

* p. 409, note.

third

third woes exactly commence together: whence we are compelled to inquire, both why they should be styled *second* and *third*, and what event or series of events is intended by *the one* and what by *the other*? Nor is even this the only difficulty. *The seventh trumpet* is represented as beginning to sound *after* the expiration of *the second woe*, and as introducing quickly *the third woe*. It is likewise represented as beginning to sound *after* the death and revival of *the witnesses*; which must take place either (as Mede thinks) at *the end of the* 1260 *years*, or (as I am rather inclined to believe) *toward* the end of them. The Archdeacon himself thinks it most probable, that these events are yet to come*. Now, in either of these cases, how can *the seventh trumpet* succeed *the death and revival of the witnesses*, if it begin to sound at *the very commencement of the* 1260 *years*; that is to say at *the very commencement of their prophesying*?

Hitherto I have argued on the supposition, that it is *allowable* to divide the Apocalypse into distinct predictions; and have only attempted to shew, that it is next to impossible to fix upon any unobjectionable *method* of dividing it. I shall now proceed to maintain, that the system of dividing it rests upon *no solid foundation*. If we carefully read the Apocalypse itself, we shall find no indications of any such division as that which forms the very basis of the Archdeacon's scheme of interpretation. St. John only specifies a single division of his subject, *the greater book* and *the little book*. *This* division therefore *must* be allowed; and accordingly *has* been allowed by nearly every commentator. But the very circumstance of such a division being *specified* leads us almost necessarily to conclude, that no *other* division was *intended* by the Apostle; for, if it *had* been intended, why was it not similarly specified? The Archdeacon draws an analogical argument from the distinct prophecies of Daniel, in favour of the system of dividing the Apocalypse. After treating of his first series, that of *the first six seals*, which he supposes to extend from *the ascension of Christ* to *the day of judgment*, he adds, "Such appears to be this general outline of the Christian "history. Many important intervals yet remain to be filled up

* p. 302, 303.

"under

" under the seventh seal, which will be found to contain *all* the " prophecies remaining; and, by tracing the history over again, " to supply many events which were only touched upon before. " This method of divine prediction, presenting at first a general " *sketch* or outline, and afterwards a more complete and finish- " ed colouring of events, is not peculiar to this prophetical " book. It is the just observation of Sir Isaac Newton, that " *the prophecies of Daniel are all of them related to each other;* " and that *every following prophecy adds something new to the* " *former*. We may add to this observation, that the *same* em- " pires in Daniel are represented by various types and symbols. " The four parts of the image, and the four beasts, are varied " symbols of the *same* empires. The bear and the he-goat, in " different visions, represent the same original: and so do the " ram and the leopard. We are not therefore to be surprised, " when we find the same history of the Church beginning anew, " and appearing under other, yet corresponding, types; thus " filling up the outlines which had been traced before*." This analogical argument appears to me to be inconclusive, on account of the defectiveness of parallelism between the *manifestly distinct* prophecies of Daniel and the *only supposed distinct* prophecies of St. John. Who for instance can doubt even momentarily of the complete distinctness of the two visions of *the image* and *the four beasts*, although they plainly treat of *the same four empires?* The one is seen by Nebuchadnezzar; the other, by Daniel himself: hence the line of distinction is so indelibly drawn between them, that we cannot for a moment suppose either that *the feet of the image* belongs to the prophecy of *the four beasts*, or that *the first beast* belongs to the prophecy of *the image*. Much the same remark applies to the three chronological visions seen *all* by Daniel. He beheld that of *the four beasts* in the first year of Belshazzar; that of *the ram and the he-goat*, in the third year of Belshazzar, " *after* that which appeared unto him at the " first;" and that of *the things noted in the Scripture of truth*, in the third year of Cyrus †. Thus it is plain, that we can neither doubt *the distinctness* of these visions, nor hesitate *where* to draw

* p. 197. † Dan. vii. 1.—viii. 1.—x. 1.

the line of distinction between them. But will any one say, that the same positive directions are given us for dividing the Apocalypse into distinct prophecies? The whole is evidently revealed to St. John in *one single* vision, on *one single* Lord's day, and *in one and the same* isle of Patmos *. He does not exhibit himself, like Daniel, as awaking from one vision, and afterwards at a considerable interval of time as beholding another: but he describes himself as seeing the whole *at once*, although the different objects, which passed in review before him, appeared sometimes to be stationed in heaven, sometimes to emerge out of the sea, sometimes to occupy the land, and sometimes to be placed in the wilderness. Such being the case, how can we fairly argue from the distinct visions of Daniel, each of which nearly repeats the same portion of history, that the Apocalypse ought likewise to be divided into distinct visions? And what commentator, who proceeds upon this system, can justly require us to accept *his* particular division of the book; a division, which must be altogether arbitrary because unsanctioned by St. John? If the Apocalypse *is* to be divided (a point which can never be proved, and which indeed the whole structure of the book seems to me to disprove), how can the Archdeacon pronounce, with even an appearance of certainty, that he has discovered the proper mode of dividing it? When I am told, that the first division comprehends *the six first seals;* the second division, *the six first trumpets* ushered in by *the seventh seal;* and the third division, *the seven vials* ushered in by *the seventh trumpet:* I feel myself walking on very unstable ground; for if the Apocalypse be divided at all, it seems unnatural to separate *one seal* and *one trumpet* from their respective fellows. But, even granting that the Apocalypse *ought* to be divided, and further granting that the Archdeacon's division is the right one; it still does not follow, that his *interpretation* ought to be admitted. If *the six first seals* constitute the first series, what right have we to say that the second series, introduced by *the seventh seal*, chronologically commences from *the self-same era* as the first? If St. John *himself* had specified the Archdeacon's division, and *told* us that his second vision commenced with *the*

* Rev. i. 9, 10.

seventh

seventh seal as the second historical vision recorded by Daniel commences with *the winged lion;* should we on *that* account have any right to conclude, that St. John's second vision ought to be computed from the same era as his first? Would it not, on the contrary, be more natural to suppose, that, since his first vision was that of *the six seals*, and since his second vision was introduced by *the seventh seal*, the first chronologically *succeeded* the second, instead of *commencing* and *running parallel* with it? In fact, if we once allow the propriety of diving the Apocalypse, and of supposing that the first division is a sketch of what is more largely predicted under the second division, as the prophecy of *the image* in Daniel is a sketch of the prophecy of *the four beasts*, we seem to preclude the possibility of its ever being satisfactorily explained by an uninspired commentator: for, in this case, *who* is to divide it; and where shall we find any two expositors, that write upon this plan, who will agree in their *mode* of division? There is, for obvious reasons, *no* discrepancy between commentators in determining where each of Daniel's four prophecies both *begins* and *ends;* but can we expect the same freedom from discrepancy, if they attempt to divide the Apocalypse into distinct visions agreeably to the analogy of Daniel's predictions?

On these grounds I feel myself compelled to adhere to the common opinion, that the Apocalypse, with the already mentioned and almost universally allowed exception of the little book, is *one continued vision:* and, if such an opinion be well founded, since *the septenary of the seals* precedes *the septenary of the trumpets*, and *the septenary of the trumpets* the *septenary of the vials*, each of these *septenaries* must, as Bp. Newton argues, chronologically *precede* the other. Whether we suppose *the last seal* abolutely to *comprehend* as well as to *introduce* the *seven trumpets*, and *the last trumpet* in a similar manner *the seven vials*, is of no great consequence so far as the *chronological* arrangement of the Apocalypse is concerned; though I think there is reason for admitting, with Bp. Newton, the propriety of such a supposition. For what does *the seventh seal* contain, unless we conceive it to contain *the seven trumpets;* and where shall we find *the third woe* announced under *the seventh trumpet*, if we do not find it under

the seven vials, those seven *last* plagues in which is *filled up* the wrath of God * ? But, if once we adopt the belief of *the continuity and indivisibility of the Apocalypse* (always excepting the little book), it is plain, that by far the greater part of the Archdeacon's interpretations cannot be admitted, because they are founded upon *its non-continuity and divisibility*.

II I shall now proceed to offer a few observations on some *particular* expositions of the Archdeacon, premising that it is not my intention to notice *every little* matter in which I happen to dissent from him.

1. His exposition of *the first six seals* I of course cannot admit; because, extending as it does from *the ascension of our Lord* to *the day of judgment*, it seems to me to militate against the whole chronology of the Apocalypse. Yet his *principle* of expounding *the four first seals* is so very satisfactory, that I cannot but think it highly deserving of serious attention; and, if I mistake not, the Archdeacon himself points out what is probably the right interpretation of them. Till now I never met with any thing satisfactory on the subject: and I forbore to treat of it in my own Dissertation, both on that account, and because it has no connection with *the* 1260 *days* to the consideration of which I was peculiarly directing my attention. Hence I merely stated in a note that I could not believe with Bp. Newton that *the rider on the white horse under the first seal* could symbolize *the age of Vespasian*, because the *homogeneity* of the Apocalypse required us to suppose him the same as *the rider on the white horse described in the 19th chapter*. But *that* rider is plainly *the Messiah*: whence I inferred with Mede, that the *other* rider must be *the Messiah* likewise; and that *his going forth conquering and to conquer* denoted *the rapid propagation of the Gospel in the pure apostolical age*. Yet, though I approved of Mede's interpretation of *the first seal*, I could not but see his inconsistency in referring *the three riders* in *the three succeeding seals* to *classes of Roman emperors*: for *homogeneity*, as the Archdeacon very justly and forcibly argues, requires us to suppose that there must be some degree of analogy, some common bond of connection, between all *the four riders* and all

* Rev. xv. 1. See Bp. Newton's very able Dissert. on Rev. xv.

the

the four horses under *the four first seals.* Bp. Newton avoids the inconsistency of Mede, by interpreting *the four riders* to denote *four successive classes of Roman emperors;* but then he equally, though in a different manner, violates *homogeneity* by teaching us, that *the rider on the white horse in the 19th chapter* is *Christ,* but that *the rider on the white horse of the first seal* represents *the age of Vespasian.* I entirely agree with the Archdeacon, that *the 19th chapter* must be our clue for interpreting *the four seals;* and consequently, since *the first seal* must relate to *the spiritual victories of Christ in the apostolical age,* the *three other seals* must depict *three successive states of the Church.* These four periods the Archdeacon does not attempt *precisely* to divide from each other, observing both truly and beautifully that the progress of corruption was gradual, and that its tints melted into each other like the colours of the rainbow. The first period is *that of primitive Christianity:* the second is *that of internal dissentions leading to bloodshed:* the third is *that of spiritual bondage and a dearth of religious knowledge:* and the fourth is *that of persecution.* The Archdeacon thinks, that the vengeful character of *the second seal* is to be seen distinctly in the fourth century, though its commencement may be fixed from the end of the second century: that the abuses of *the third seal* did not arrive at their height till the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, though their origin may be traced so early as in the second century: and that the persecution of *the fourth,* though it did not attain its utmost horror till the twelfth century, began in some measure, under the influence of *the second seal,* with the reign of Constantine; increased under that of Theodosius; and seems have been in positive existence, at least as far as edicts in favour of persecution are concerned, under that of Honorius. The cry of the martyrs, described in *the fifth seal,* he supposes to be the cry of all those who have suffered in the cause of Christ, whether by the instrumentality of pagans or papists. And their cry is at length heard, and produces the opening of *the sixth seal,* which ushers in *the awful day of general retribution.* The Archdeacon argues, and I think with much appearance of reason, that *the rider of the third seal* does not carry *a pair of balances* (as we read in our common translation), but *a yoke,* expressive of that *spiritual*

bondage,

bondage, which commenced indeed in the second century, but was fully matured by the agents of Popery: and, agreeably to this exposition, he conceives the dearth to be, "not a famine of "bread nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the "Lord."

Let us now see, whether an interpretation of *the seals* cannot be given, founded upon the Archdeacon's own principle of *homogeneity*, and yet according with what I believe to be the right chronological arrangement of the Apocalypse.

I am not aware, that we are *necessarily* bound to suppose that each apocalyptic period terminates precisely when another commences. St. John indeed expressly tells us, that *the first woe* ceases before *the second* begins, and that *the second* ceases before *the third* begins: whence we *must* conclude, that the three periods of *the three last trumpets* are not only *successive*, but that each *entirely expires* before the commencement of another. Respecting *the duration* of all the other periods he is totally silent: whence, although we are obliged to suppose them *successive* in point of *commencement*, it is by no means equally clear that we are obliged to look upon one as *terminated* when another *begins*. As far as induction goes, we may rather infer the contrary: for it seems needless for the Apostle so carefully to inform us, that *each woe* terminates before *its successor* commences, if such were likewise the case with every other apocalyptic period. We may conclude then, that the influence both of each seal and of each vial *probably* extends into the *peculiar* period of its successor.

On these grounds, suppose we say, with the Archdeacon, that *the first seal* represents *the age of primitive christianity:* that *the second* represents *that of fiery zeal without knowledge*, commencing towards "the end of the second century, when the western ru-"lers of the Church, and the wise and moderate Irenèus, were "seen to interpose and exhort the furious bishop of Rome to "cultivate Christian peace," and extending so far as to include the schism of the Donatists and the bitter fruits of the Arian controversy; and that *the third* represents *that of spiritual bondage and religious dearth*, which began like its predecessor in the second century, but extends through all the worst periods of popery. Suppose we further say, slightly varying from the Archdeacon,

deacon, that *the fourth* exhibits to us what may emphatically be termed *the age of persecution*, not indeed of persecution *inflicted by* the Church, but of persecution *suffered by* the Church. This may be conceived to commence about *the year* 302 or 304, with the dreadful and general persecution of Diocletian. Other persecutions indeed there had been before this; but none either of equal violence or of equal extent, none under which the Church could appear so emphatically subject to the powers of death and hell, none under which the slaughter was so great as to cause *the symbolical horse* to assume a hue pale and livid-green like that of a half putrid corpse *. The consequences both of all the other persecutions, and we may suppose peculiarly of the Diocletian one, are exhibited to us under *the fifth seal*. St. John beholds the souls of the martyrs under the altar, and hears them crying with a loud voice for the just vengeance of heaven against their persecutors. Their prayer is heard, and is in a measure answered under *the sixth seal*; though it will not be completely answered until the great day of retribution, "until their fellow-servants "also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were," in subsequent days of popish bigotry, "should be fulfilled." *The sixth seal* is opened; and, at the very time when the affairs of the Church appear at the lowest ebb, the reign of persecuting paganism is suddenly brought to an end, and christianity is publicly embraced and supported by Constantine. This great revolution is

* "There were other persecutions before, but this was by far the most con-
"siderable, the tenth and last general persecution, which was begun by Dio-
"cletian, and continued by others, and lasted longer and extended further
"and was sharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore
"this was particularly predicted. Eusebius and Lactantius, who were two
"eye-witnesses, have written large accounts of it. Orosius asserts that this
"persecution was longer and more cruel than all the past; for it raged inces-
"santly for ten years by burning the churches, proscribing the innocent, and
"slaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus too describes it as the most bitter
"persecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of
"God; at which time all the world almost was stained with the sacred blood
"of the martyrs, and was never more exhausted by any wars. So that this
"became a memorable era to the Christians, under the name of *the era of Dio-*
"*cletian*, or as it is otherwise called *the era of martyrs*." Pp. Newton's Dissert. on Seal V.

pourtrayed

pourtrayed indeed under images borrowed from *the day of judgment*: but, although the Archdeacon applies *the sixth seal* literally to *the day of judgment itself*, he is too skilful a biblical critic not to know that the very images which it exhibits are repeatedly used by the ancient prophets and even by our Lord himself to describe *the fates of empires*. The reason seems in some measure at least to be this: *the downfall of any false religion* or of *any anti-christian empire* may be considered as an apt type of *the last day*, when retribution will be fully dealt out to all the enemies of God *.

The first seal then exhibits the Church of a spotless white colour, and under the influence of a heavenly rider. *The second* exhibits her of a red colour, and under the influence of a spirit of fiery zeal and internal discord. *The third* exhibits her as changed to black, and beginning to be subjected to a grievous yoke of will-worship and to experience the horror of a spiritual famine. *The fourth* exhibits her under the last and most dreadful persecution of paganism, as having assumed a livid cadaverous hue, as bestridden by death, and pursued by hell, as experiencing the excision of a fourth part of her members throughout *the whole apocalyptic earth* or *the Roman empire*, and we may add as falling into danger of the second death through constrained apostasy. *The fifth* exhibits to us the souls of the martyrs; and represents their blood, like that of Abel, as crying to God for vengeance upon their persecutors. And *the sixth* symbolically describes *the overthrow of paganism* and *the establishment of christianity*.

The seventh seal introduces *the septenary of the trumpets*. We are now arrived at the days of Constantine: but St. Paul had predicted, that *a great apostasy* should take place, and that a power which he styles *the man of sin* should be revealed, after *he that letted*, or *the Western Roman empire*, had been taken out of the way. In exact accordance with this prophecy of St. Paul, St. John proceeds to describe under *the four first trumpets* the removal of *him that letted*; and then, at the sounding of *the fifth*, the *great apostasy* in both its branches is completed in the self-same year, and *the man of sin* is revealed.

* See Mede, Bp. Newton, and the Archdeacon.

Such

Such is the interpretation, which I give of this part of the Apocalypse, and which appears to me to accord better with its probable chronological arrangement than that brought forward by the Archdeacon.

2. After my general objections to the Archdeacon's arrangement, it may be almost superfluous to state, that, if there be any cogency in those objections, his application of *the fifth trumpet* or *the first woe* to *the Gnostics* must be deemed inadmissible. Yet, since he has objected to the common exposition of *this trumpet* as relating to *the rise of Mohammedism* and *the ravages of the Saracens*, it may be expedient to say a few words on the subject.

The Archdeacon supposes, that *the sixth trumpet* or *the second woe* does not relate exclusively to *the Turks*, as most modern commentators have imagined, but to *all the professors of Mohammedism*, Saracens as well as Turks: and consequently that it begins to sound in *the year* 606, when *the rise of Mohammedism* is most properly dated. Such an exposition of *the two first woes* does not seem to me to accord with the Archdeacon's own very excellent principle of *homogeneity*. In addition to *the fifth* and *sixth trumpets* being alike styled *woes*, the prophecies contained under each of them bear a most striking resemblance to each other, insomuch that there is nothing else in the whole Apocalypse that is at all similar either to the one or to the other of them. Yet, besides their being represented as *successive* and as constituting *two distinct woes*, there is a sufficient degree of *difference* between them to shew plainly that they cannot relate precisely to the *same* people and the *same* event. Now, independent of *the Gnostics* not harmonizing with the chronology of the Apocalypse (if there be any force in my general objection), I cannot but think *homogeneity* violated by referring the one prophecy to *the Gnostics* and the other to *the Mohammedans*. There is a greater difference between *the actions of the Gnostics* and *the actions of the Mohammedans*, than the obvious similarity of the two predictions will warrant; and at the same time there is a less striking resemblance between *their principles*, than the predictions seem to require. *The actions of the Gnostics* and *the actions of the Mohammedans* were totally unlike; and I can see no reason why *the principles of the Gnostics* should be thought to resemble *those of the Mohammedans*

Mohammedans more than *the principles of many other Christian heretics.* But, in the case of *the Saracens* and *the Turks*, we exactly find at once *the required similarity* and *the required dissimilarity*: and, while *homogeneity* is thus preserved inviolate, the chronology of the Apocalypse (supposing it to be, as I have attempted to prove it to be, *one continued vision*) remains perfectly unbroken.

With so much in favour of Mede's interpretation, I cannot feel my faith in it shaken by the Archdeacon's objections.—1. I fully agree with him, that *the fallen star* of *the fifth trumpet* cannot mean *Mohammed*: but *this* objection is removed by the interpretation which *I* have given of it—His three next objections do not seem to me insurmountable—2. *The symbolical darkness* of *the fifth trumpet* I do not conceive to mean the darkness of *preceding* heresies: it began to issue out of the pit of the abyss, when the false prophet emerged from the cave of Hera to vent his imposture—3. I cannot see, why we are bound to conclude that the darkness must extend to the *whole* christian world, merely because it is said that the sun and the air were darkened; any more than we ought to suppose the whole *natural* world darkened, because a great smoke darkened the sun and the air to the inhabitants of a particular country—4. The regions, in which the Waldenses most flourished, certainly *did* escape in a remarkable manner the incursions of the Saracens; and I think, with Bp. Newton, that this escape is a sufficient fulfilment of the prophecy—5. The fifth objection is invalid, supposing the prediction to relate to *the Saracens in particular*, and not to *the Mohammedans in general.* The Saracens indeed subsisted as a nation more than 150 years, just as the Gnostics continued as a sect more than 150 years; but they subsisted as an *unsettled* nation, answering to the character of *a woe inflicted by locusts*, exactly 150 years—6. In the sixth objection there is some weight, but I cannot allow it to counterbalance the arguments in favour of Mede's interpretation. In prophecies avowedly descriptive we not unfrequently meet with a mixture of the literal with the symbolical. Thus, in the final battle of Armageddon, if we compare the description of it with other parallel prophecies, Christ is *probably* a literal character, the kings of the earth and their armies are *certainly* literal characters, and the beast is just as *certainly* a symbolical character.

Apply

Apply this remark to the Archdeacon's objection, that commentators, in order to refer *the fifth trumpet* to *the Saracens*, sometimes expound it literally and sometimes symbolically; and perhaps it may not be thought wholly unanswerable *. So again: whatever might have been the state of *the Turkish nation* before it is mentioned by St. John, it was certainly, immediately before the period of its supposed introduction into the Apocalypse, divided into four sultanies; and those four sultanies were seated upon the Euphrates: whereas *the rise of Mohammedism* from the cave of Hera in Arabia can by no ingenuity be transferred to the Euphrates. It is not sufficient to say, that the Saracens were at a *subsequent* period seated upon the Euphrates: a prophecy relating to *the rise of Mohammedism*, must *commence* from Arabia †.

With regard to the propriety of considering *the Saracens* and *the Turks* as *woes*, the Archdeacon cannot object to it even according to his own definition of *a woe* ‡: for surely *the rapid progress of Mohammedism by the Saracens*, and *its establishment by the Turks*, may well be considered *as two heavy woes to the christian church*; especially if we take into the account *the contemporary rise and establishment of the western apostasy*. On the same ground, neither can he object to the interpretation which *I* have given of *the third woe*, as ushering in *the open developement of French atheism and anarchy*. But I much doubt whether his idea of *the three apocalyptic woes* be perfectly accurate. They are *woes* to "the "inhabiters of the earth §." But *the inhabiters of the earth* are not *the pure church*, but *the idolatrous inhabitants of the Roman empire*. Accordingly, *all the woes*, supposing *the seven vials* to constitute jointly *the third woe*, are represented as punishments inflicted both upon *the eastern* and *western Romans* ‖. The sense, which the Archdeacon affixes to *the apocalyptic earth*, or (as he sometimes translates the original word) *land*, is irreconcileable with many passages wherein that symbol is introduced ¶: there-

* p. 249, 250, 251.

† p. 271. ‡ Pref. p. xvii. § Rev. viii. 13.

‖ Rev. ix. 4, 20, 21. xi. 15, 18. xvi. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19.

¶ Compare the Archdeacon, p. 210, 211. with Rev. xiii. 8, 12, 14.

fore

fore I consider it as untenable. And I think his definition of *the apocalyptic sea* to be equally untenable, and for the same reason.

3. The Archdeacon supposes *the woman* described in *the 12th chapter* to denote *the Church*, not merely while christian, but from the very earliest ages; and he conceives *the man-child* to be *the literal Messiah*, with whom the Church had been travailing in earnest expectation through a long series of years*. *The war in heaven* he likewise understands *literally*, and believes it to relate to *the expulsion of Satan and his apostate angels*. Not indeed that he supposes *a battle* to have been actually fought; but he refers this part of the Apocalypse to the same conflict as that alluded to in Jude 6. and 2 Pet. ii. 4.

It is obvious, that this scheme is liable to much the same objections as those which I have already adduced against the schemes of Mede and Bp. Newton. The whole of the little book, as itself repeatedly testifies, treats of *the* 1260 *years*. This is so manifest, that all commentators, who depart from such an opinion, are obliged to have recourse to the most arbitrary glosses upon the text. Bp. Newton accordingly asserts, that *the flight of the woman into the wilderness* mentioned in *the 6th verse* is introduced *proleptically*, because it was posterior in point of time to the events which he supposes to be intended by *the war in heaven*. The Archdeacon, in a somewhat similar manner, would throw *the whole of that war* into *a parenthesis*, in order that he may be at liberty to apply it to *the expulsion of the devil and his angels from heaven*. After carefully reading however all that the Bishop and the Archdeacon have said in favour of their respective schemes, and after attentively considering the structure of the little book, I cannot think that either *the prolepsis* or *the parenthesis* are at all warranted by the general tenor of the prophecy; and I must still believe with Lowman, that *the war between Michael and the dragon* takes places during the continuance of *the* 1260 *years*. Nor is this the only objection to the Archdeacon's exposition: it contains likewise a violation of *homogeneity*. *The woman* is said to be in *the same heaven* as *the dragon*. But by *that heaven* the Archdeacon understands *the literal heaven* out of which the apostate angels were cast. *The woman* therefore must have been in *the literal heaven*. But when was "the Church

* p. 211.

"from

" from the time of Adam *" down to the present time, whether patriarchal, Levitical, or Christian, in *the literal heaven* from which the devil was expelled?

4. I have already mentioned the agreement between the Archdeacon and myself, that *the first apocalyptic beast* is *the Roman empire*, and the same as *Daniel's fourth beast*; not, as some have supposed, *the Papacy*, and the same as *the little horn of Daniel's beast*. The Archdeacon indeed may perhaps be thought by some needlessly to refine on the subject †: yet his opinion of *this beast* is *substantially* the same as my own. To his remarks however on *the seventh* and *eighth forms* of Roman government I can by no means subscribe. He conceives *the seventh* to be *the Exarchate of Ravenna*, and *the eighth* (unless I altogether mistake his meaning) to be *a compound of all the Popish sovereigns*, a college (if I may so speak) of all the ten horns ‡.

As I have in the body of my work given my reasons very abundantly why I cannot allow *the Exarchate of Ravenna* to be *the seventh head*, I shall confine myself to some observations on the Archdeacon's opinion of *the eighth*. The first objection to it is obviously, that it *confounds* the members of *the beast*, making his *ten horns* the same as *his last head*. The next is, that *this apparently distinct eighth head* is to be one of the *preceding* seven; so that *the beast* has *really* only seven, though he may *seem* upon a superficial view of his history to have eight. With which of his seven predecessors can *this supposed collegiate regal head* be identified? The last is, that *the eighth head of the beast* is represented as something perfectly distinct from the kings seated within his empire, although it manifestly influences their actions. We read, that *the beast* is to go into perdition while subsisting under *his eighth form of government*. Now, if we turn to the passage where his perdition is described, we find him *heading* a confederacy of those very kings whom the Archdeacon conceives jointly to constitute his *last head* §.

5. Though I quite agree with the Archdeacon, that *the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast*, when *generally* considered, is the same as

* p. 315. † See p. 329—335, 421—425, 436. ‡ p. 431, 432.
§ Rev. xvi. 13, 14. xix. 19.

the

the second apocalyptic beast or *the false prophet*; yet, if we descend to *particulars*, I am unable to assent to his exposition of these kindred symbols. He thinks, that *the second apocalyptic beast* represents *the whole of the great apostasy*; and that his *two horns* denote, one *the Papacy*, and the other *Mohammedism* *.

It is somewhat remarkable, that I had once in the course of my study of the Revelation fallen upon the very same opinion; but it is liable to what appears to myself insuperable objections. —1. Of *the second apocalyptic beast* strict unity of action is predicated: but it is natural to suppose, that, if his *two horns* had been designed to represent *two such distinct powers* as *Popery* and *Mohammedism*, a separate set of actions would have been ascribed to each; as there are, for instance, to *the two little horns* described by Daniel, and (what is perhaps more strictly analogical) to *the several horns* and *the little horn* of Daniel's *fourth beast*—2. The *second apocalyptic beast* makes his appearance in the little book, which (according to the Archdeacon himself †) peculiarly relates to "*another* Antichristian usurpation" as contradistinguished from the *already predicted* Mohammedan usurpation, and of which "the western nations of the Gentiles are to be the ob-"ject:" surely then, if we would be consistent in our expositions, we cannot expect to find in the little book any mention of *Mohammedism*.—3. *The second apocalyptic beast* is represented as being *one* false prophet or (what amounts to the same thing) *one* body of *personal* false prophets: now, when we consider the nature of what Mede properly terms *the counter-elements* ‡ of the Apocalypse, and when we find that the true prophets of God are said to be *two* in number; we can scarcely conceive that the counter-element to the *two* true prophets would have been *one* false prophet, when so fair an opportunity was presented of producing a *perfect* counter-element by exhibiting *two* false prophets, namely *Popery* and *Mohammedism*: *one* false prophet however is alone mentioned, whence it seems most natural to conclude that *one* power is alone intended.—4. The power, which *the second beast* exercises under the protection of *the first*, is among other particulars (as the Archdeacon himself allows §) *idolatrous*; and,

* p. 556—574. † p. 277, 278, 279. § p. 350, 351. ‡ Αντιστοιχα βασιλικα.

if

if the exposition which Dr. Zouch and myself give of *the image* set up by him be just, it is *idolatrously persecuting:* the disciples of Mohammed have ever warmly protested against idolatry, and have repeatedly charged the Papists with being guilty of it.—5. *The second beast* is represented as very closely connected with *the first*, and as exercising his authority under his immediate sanction: this perfectly accords with *Popery*, but by no means so with *Mohammedism*, which has ever been in direct opposition to *the papal Roman empire*, and against which repeated crusades have been undertaken.—6. *The second beast* is allowed by the Archdeacon to be the same as *the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast;* therefore *the little horn* must, according to his scheme, typify at once both *Popery* and *Mohammedism* *: but what is there in the character of this *little horn*, which can reasonably induce us to suppose that it denotes *two entirely distinct religious powers?* All *the other horns* of all *the other beasts* represent each *a single power: homogeneity* therefore forbids us to suppose that *it* alone represents *two*. Its *actions* equally forbid such a supposition. Like those of *the second apocalyptic beast*, they are strictly the actions of one. *The little horn*, for instance, subverts *three of the other horns*. *Popery* and *Mohammedism* cannot *both* subvert *the self-same three horns:* and, if they had *each* subverted *three*, then their common symbol *the little horn* would have subverted *six*. But *Mohammedism* never subverted *any three*, and *the little horn* does subvert *three:* therefore *Mohammedism* can have no connection with *the little horn*. The truth of these observations will yet further appear, if we consider the character of *the mystic apocalyptic harlot*. This character is so strongly drawn, that the Archdeacon cannot but confine it to the *papal apostasy*. Hence, in order to preserve consistency, he is obliged to say, that *the harlot* is not *absolutely* the same as *the second beast* or *the false prophet*, but only as *one of his two horns* †. Yet, to any unprejudiced reader *the harlot* must appear to perform exactly the same part to *the ten-horned beast described in the 17th chapter*, that *the second beast* does to *the ten-horned beast in the 13th chapter*, and *the little horn* to *the ten-horned beast in the 7th chapter of Daniel*. The Archdeacon indeed himself both draws out in three columns the

* p. 350—357. † p. 436, 437.

[illegible]ism

parallelism of *the little horn, the second apocalyptic beast,* and *the man of sin;* and elsewhere parallelizes in two columns *the false prophet* or *the second apocalyptic beast,* and *the harlot* *. What then can we conclude, but that all three denote *one and the same power,* whatever that power may be; and consequently, since *the harlot* and *the man of sin* are exclusively *the papal power,* that *both the others* must be exclusively the *papal power* likewise † ?

Before this subject is altogether dismissed, I must remark, that the Archdeacon has adduced some very forcible arguments to prove that *the second apocalyptic beast* cannot denote, as it hath recently been conjectured, *the infidel democratic power of France* ‡. He seems to me likewise to describe most justly *the motives* of the kings in stripping *the harlot.* "This hostility between the "kings and the harlot," says he, "does not seem to proceed "from any virtue in them, but from worldly avarice and am- "bition. They covet her power and her riches: and this "change in their conduct seems to take place from the time "when they awake from their intoxication. They, who had "been the means of exalting the harlot, become the instru- "ments of her fall §."

The Archdeacon, I am persuaded, will not be offended at the freedom of these remarks. If we be rapidly approaching to *the time of the end,* as there is abundant reason to believe that we are, we certainly ought to redouble our caution in admitting any exposition of prophecy which will not stand the test of the strictest examination. It is by *the running to and fro of many* that *knowledge is increased:* and every person, that attempts to unfold the sacred oracles of God, ought not only to *expect,* but to *desire,* that his writings should be even severely scrutinized. He may indeed fairly demand, that he should be treated with *civility:* but, while he deprecates the offensive illiberality of sarcasm and the disgusting coarseness of vulgar scurrility, by some esteemed the very acmè of wit and perfection of criticism, he ought never to shrink from the manly sincerity of calm and dispassionate investigation. I cannot conclude with greater

* p. 354, 423. † See indeed the Archdeacon himself, p. 350, 434.
‡ p. 363. § p. 433.

propriety

propriety than in the words of the Archdeacon himself. "Truth, "in this important research, is, I hope, as it ought to be, my "principal concern: and I shall rejoice to see these sacred "prophecies truly interpreted, though the correction of my "mistakes should lay the foundation of so desirable a super-"structure*."

No. II.

A pamphlet has been recently published by Mr. Nisbett, on *the man of sin*, in which, reviving the opinions of some former commentators, he endeavours to prove, that by *that mysterious character* we are to understand *the Jewish nation* considered collectively; by *his apostasy*, the *revolt of the Jews from the Romans*; and by *the coming of Christ to destroy him*, the *figurative manifestation of our Lord in the destruction of Jerusalem*.

As I have written nothing myself on the subject, but have only expressed my unreserved approbation of what Bp. Newton has said on it, it might appear officious in me to animadvert upon Mr. Nisbett's pamphlet if he had not done me the honour to introduce *my* name into it: but since he *has* done me that honour, I feel myself, not only authorized, but called upon, to discuss the merits of his system.

I. Because I deny *the Pope* to be *the atheistical Antichrist* of St. John and *the wilful king of Daniel*, he thinks I make a strange inference when I assert, that the prophecy respecting *the man of sin* has been accomplished in *the Papacy*; and, since (according to his idea) the church of Rome is not properly and strictly speaking *apostate*, he conceives, that the inference *should* have been, even according to my own principles, that the prophecy was *not* accomplished in *the Popes*†. He elsewhere charges me with having marred the symmetry of my system, by connecting

* Pref. p. xx. † p. 32.

together St. Paul's prediction and the Apocalypse without a shadow of proof that they *are* so connected; inasmuch as I have denied (so Mr. Nisbett asserts) the church of Rome to be an *apostate* church throughout the whole of my work *.

1. While I acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Nisbett for the polite manner in which he has spoken of me, I cannot refrain from expressing my surprize that he should hazard such very unguarded assertions. I draw no inference from my denial of *the Pope's* being *Antichrist* and *the wilful king*, that the prophecy respecting *the man of sin* has been accomplished in *the Papacy:* I merely assert, on the authority of Bp. Newton's Dissertation, that *that* prophecy has been *exactly* accomplished in *the Papacy;* and deny, that the prophecies either of *Antichrist* or *the wilful king have* been accomplished in *the Papacy.* This opinion I still hold; but, as for an inference, I drew none whatsoever.

2. Because Mr. Nisbett takes up the idea, that *Apostasy,* when understood in a religious sense, must mean *an abjuration of Christianity,* he censures me for applying *the apostasy of the man of sin* to *Popery,* and charges me with being guilty of a manifest inconsistency. Before he passed this censure, he ought to have shewn, both that such must be the *exclusive* meaning of *a religious apostasy,* and that *I* maintained such to be the meaning of it. He has done neither. For my own part, so far from subscribing to the propriety of his definition, I directly controvert it. *A religious apostasy* is simply *a departure from the purity of the faith;* and may be to a greater, or to a smaller, extent. It by no means necessarily involves *a formal abjuration of Christianity.* Accordingly St. Paul considers the giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines concerning demons as sufficient to constitute men *apostates,* though they should not go the length of renouncing the *whole* of the faith: and, upon this apostolical authority, Mede and Newton scruple not to pronounce the corrupt church of Rome to be an *apostate* church. In *this* sense therefore of the word *Apostasy,* I have been guilty of no inconsistency in applying *the Apostasy of the latter days and the man of sin* to Po-

* P. 57.

pery;

bery: in Mr. Nisbett's sense of the word, I never thought of so applying it.

3. He further declares, that throughout my whole work I deny the church of Rome to be *apostate*. This assertion, like the former one, is made, I apprehend, on the ground that *religious apostasy* must *exclusively* mean *a direct abjuration of Christianity*. At least I can account for it in no other way. So far from my *denying* the Church of Rome to be *apostate* in St. Paul's sense of the word, the whole of my work is built on the principle of its *being* apostate. In my very title-page, the papal superstition is styled *the papal apostasy*. At the very opening of my work, I carefully discriminate between *individual apostasy*, and *the authorized apostasy of a community*. And, throughout the whole treatise, the words *apostate* and *apostasy* repeatedly occur in application to the church of Rome.

4. He says, that I connect St. Paul's prophecy and the Apocalypse together without a shadow of proof. This is a very unfair representation. It is true, *I* no where prove their connection, because I professedly avoid discussing the character of *the man of sin*: but, when I unreservedly declare my assent to Bp. Newton's exposition of his character, it is obvious that for the proof of its connection with the Apocalypse I refer the reader to the Bishop's exposition. This connection his Lordship appears to me to have proved almost beyond a possibility of doubt.

II. Here I might fairly be allowed to stop, but the love of truth induced me to add a few more observations. As for Bp. Newton, his Dissertation requires no defence either by me or by any other person. He has so fully considered the matter, that he has altogether exhausted the subject. He has shewn, completely to my own satisfaction, that the prophecy agrees in every particular with its supposed completion; and consequently, according to a rule of my own which Mr. Nisbett honours with the flattering appellation of *excellent*, I must allow his interpretation to be valid. Respecting the Bishop therefore I shall say nothing, but shall proceed to examine how far his opponent's system will bear to be tried by the same rule.

If *the man of sin* be *the whole body of the Jewish nation* previous

to the sacking of Jerusalem, then *that nation* must have performed all that is ascribed to *the man of sin*.

1. Now *the man of sin* is said to have sat in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. How did *the Jewish nation* do this? Mr. Nisbett refers us to the conduct of the High Priest and the Sanhedrim. Because these commanded the apostles not to speak in the name of Jesus, and because they held their court in the temple, they arrogated to themselves a divine authority, and might therefore be said to sit in the temple of God—But how was this actually shewing themselves that they were God? They did what many secular governments have likewise done: they opposed the propagation of Christianity from motives of worldly policy; they feared lest the Romans should come and take away both their place and nation. What has been so *repeatedly* done by *various* governments, is no *distinctive* badge of *any*. Nor is this all: the action of the Sanhedrim by no means comes up to the action so definitely ascribed to *the man of sin*. If we be allowed to say, that the Sanhedrim sat in the temple of God and shewed themselves that they are God, simply because they forbad the preaching of the Apostles; we may be allowed to explain away the most definite expressions of prophecy. Had St. Paul meant no more than what Mr. Nisbett ascribes to him, it is incredible that he would have used language which requires to be *tortured* into the right explanation. Let the reader compare together Bp. Newton's unconstrained ease, and his antagonist's painful laboriousness, in explaining this part of the prophecy; and I think he cannot long hesitate in determining which of them produces the most natural and obvious interpretation of it.

2. *The man of sin* is further said to come with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; and it is declared that God should send those persons strong delusion, so that they should believe a lie. What miracles did *the body of the Jewish nation* work for the purpose of deceiving others? Mr. Nisbett replies, that *many impostors* arose among *the Jews*, who deceived *the people;* that, under the pretence of a divine impulse, they made the people mad and led them into the wilderness, promising

mising there to them signs of liberty from God; and that, even when the temple was in flames, they encouraged them to expect that God would assist them—But how does this come up to the plain import of the prophecy? According to St. Paul, *the man of sin* was to work lying miracles for the purpose of deceiving, not *himself* of course, but *them that perish* in consequence of their taking pleasure in unrighteousness. According to Mr. Nisbett's interpretation, *the man of sin*, that is *the body of the Jewish nation*, did *not* come with lying wonders to deceive *others*; but was *himself* deceived by the lying wonders, or rather the *promised* lying wonders, of *certain impostors*. Here, as well as in the former instance, I can discover nothing like any accomplishment of the prophecy.

These remarks alone seem to me sufficient to invalidate the whole plan of Mr. Nisbett's interpretation: the prophecy has not been accomplished in *the Jewish nation*; therefore *the Jewish nation* cannot be intended by *the man of sin*.

3. I shall conclude with two remarks of Bp. Newton. *The first* is, if we may rely upon the concurring testimonies of the fathers, *that which letted the revelation of the man of sin* was *the Roman empire*; hence the primitive Christians prayed for its preservation, as expecting that this great enemy of real religion would be revealed when *the Roman empire* was removed. *The second* is, that if this prophecy *were* fulfilled before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprizing that none of the fathers should ever suspect that it *was* then fulfilled; but, on the contrary, should speak of its accomplishment as still future. Justin Martyr, Irenèus, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Cyril, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Chrysostome, all agree in this point; all equally consider the prophecy as an unfulfilled one; all suppose *the man of sin* to be the same as *the little horn* of Daniel's fourth beast: and it is not a little extraordinary, if the interpretation which Mr. Nisbett has adopted be the true one, that it should never have been thought of until sixteen or seventeen centuries subsequent to the accomplishment of the prophecy. In short, after carefully comparing together the expositions of Mr. Nisbett and the Bishop, I am even more firmly persuaded than ever I was that his Lordship's views of the subject are perfectly accurate.

To

To these remarks, which Mr. Nisbett drew upon himself, he has made an angry reply in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. lxxviii. p. 1158. I have answered him in the same periodical work, Vol. lxxix. p. 228. Such being the case, I think it superfluous to say any thing more on the subject. April 24, 1809.

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